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ORATION

OF

ÆSCHINES ON THE CROWN.

THE

# ORATION

DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

WILLIAMSBURG

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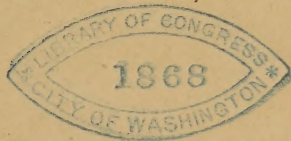
WITH NOTES.

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BY J. T. CHAMPLIN,  
PRESIDENT OF COLBY UNIVERSITY.

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NEW EDITION, REVISED.



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*W. H. Bennett*



TO  
CORNELIUS CONWAY FELTON, LL.D.,

*Eliot Professor of Greek in Harvard University,*

THIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE ILLUSTRATION OF ATTIC ORATORY

Is Inscribed,

AS AN EXPRESSION OF FRIENDSHIP AND A MEMORIAL OF  
CONGENIAL STUDIES,

BY THE EDITOR.

*a*\*





## P R E F A C E.

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IN bringing before the public the productions of the rivals orators in this most famous contest for the crown, I have not followed the chronological order, but the order of pre-eminence and demand; so that, as in many other things, "the last has become first, and the first last." While the name of Æschines has undoubtedly been ennobled by its association with that of Demosthenes, in this and the other contests left on record, at the same time he has unavoidably suffered from so close proximity to a superior luminary. The acknowledged position of Demosthenes as the first of orators, and the reputation of his Oration on the Crown as the first of his orations, have cast into comparative obscurity the scarcely less able production of Æschines; and led to the inconsistency, in nearly all of our colleges, of reading the defence without having previously read the attack. In accordance with this practice of our colleges (a practice, to be sure, inconsistent in itself, but which, I think, no wise teacher would recommend to be generally abandoned, unless both the Orations

can be read), the Oration of Demosthenes was first published, and is now followed by that of Æschines.

The two Orations, though not intended necessarily to be bound together, have been edited with mutual reference to each other, and with the same general object in view. The aim, in each case, has been, to give a plain and unpretending exposition of the sentiments of the author, based upon philological principles, and illustrated by the requisite historical and archæological information. It has not, however, been attempted to do this in an exhaustive way, so as to leave no difficulties to be overcome by the student, but sufficiently to encourage effort, and furnish the means of success to the diligent and persevering. To what has sometimes been called "the higher criticism," such as is displayed in ingenious interpretations, bold conjectures, and happy emendations, this book makes but little pretension. The editor will be satisfied if it shall be thought to contain a fair amount of common sense, guided by a competent knowledge of the Greek language in interpreting the thoughts of a great orator, who lived more than two thousand years ago, and bringing them into connection with thoughts and things as they now are. The classics are too often read as some tale of a far-off, enchanted land; beautiful and entertaining, to be sure, but having no possible connection with what is now passing on the earth. Happily, the tendency of the labors of recent editors has been to dispel this illusion, by exhibiting them as a field of useful, as well as of entertaining, study, — by treating them as productions of the human mind in

its various workings: thus attaching them to human nature, and making them reflect it under some of its most interesting aspects. All honor to the men who, like Boeckh in Germany, and Arnold in England, have contributed to bring about this change!

This Oration is one of three which have been left by Æschines. They have been denominated "the three Graces," of which, undoubtedly, this is the *crowning* Grace. They were all made against Demosthenes, — one directly in self-defence, in a prosecution for corrupt conduct on his embassy to Philip; and the others through third persons, — Timarchus and Ctesiphon. Coming to a rupture on their second embassy to Philip, the two orators took directly opposite sides in the subsequent struggle with that crafty monarch, — the one vehemently urging resistance to his encroachments; the other conciliation, if not submission. Their differences came out, in the report of their proceedings made before the Assembly on their return from the embassy, and about three years afterwards, on occasion of Æschines passing the usual examination before the court for his conduct on the embassy, were fully discussed, first in the preliminary trial of Timarchus, and then of Æschines himself, and finally reached their highest intensity and most indignant expression in this action against Ctesiphon. In this closing struggle, therefore, of the two orators, we have at the same time the best specimen of their individual power and relative strength. In gracefulness of style and cogency of logic, Æschines is fully equal to his rival; but his words are far less solemn and elevated, and his logic works by



dryer formulæ, and within much narrower limits. With almost every quality of style deemed desirable in an orator, we yet miss the convincing earnestness, the fiery energy, as well as the magnificent sweep and flow, of Demosthenes. Consequently, he is more trivial, more extravagant, more personal, than his antagonist. There is a vein of extravagance, which runs through many of his expressions and statements, which greatly injures the effect of the Oration; while I know of nothing in which it suffers so much, in comparison with the production of his rival, as in the more exclusively personal character which it wears. Demosthenes, it is true, exhibits personal feeling towards *Æschines*, and, speaking in self-defence, is necessarily somewhat egotistical; but, as Mr Legare\* has well said of his masterly production, "It is the grandest piece of egotism on record. Yet is the subject so dexterously, or rather so simply, so sincerely, so sublimely managed, that you forget the orator in the statesman, the statesman in the patriot, the patriot in his country, which seems to have engrossed, penetrated, transformed, and elevated his whole being."

As to the merits of the main question at issue between the two orators,—the integrity and policy of the course which they had respectively pursued towards Philip,—it is difficult positively to decide. It is possible that the policy of *Æschines*, which was at the same

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\* "Demosthenes, the Man, the Statesman, and the Orator," Writings, vol. ii. p. 481.

time the policy of a large party, at whose head stood the accomplished Isocrates and the stern and incorruptible Phocion, was dictated by a real though mistaken regard for the interests of his country, supposing that conciliation would be more effectual than resistance. But, considering all the known facts of the case, — the sudden change of his feelings towards Philip after the first embassy; his subsequent connection with the Macedonian party, through all the course of Philip's aggressions, even to the downfall of his country; and many other suspicious circumstances urged by Demosthenes in his reply and the Oration on the False Legation, — it can hardly be doubted that there was something criminal in his connection with Philip. That his course was unpatriotic, is involved in the very nature of the case, since he sided with the conqueror of his country. And though we need not believe him to have been, what the rival orators mutually charge each other with being, the guilty cause of all the evils of his country, — ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριος, — still his name must always rest under some suspicion.

It now only remains for me to say, that the text of this edition is that of W. Dindorf, with such slight alterations as seemed to be required alike by the sense and manuscript authority. I have constantly consulted the edition of Bremi, as well as the collection of Notes, Scholia, and Various Readings, contained in Dobson's edition of the Attic Orators, and adopted from them whatever seemed to my purpose. Thankful for the encouragement and assistance of many valued friends, both in the present and previous editorial labors, and

assured by the favor with which those labors have thus far been received, I venture to add this little volume to those already before the public.

WATERVILLE COLLEGE, January, 1850.

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IN this new edition, the editor has made such improvements as his various engagements have allowed. He has carefully revised the whole himself, and been favored with many valuable suggestions from others. He is anxious, particularly, to acknowledge his indebtedness to a learned article by President Woolsey, of Yale College, in the July number of the "Bibliotheca Sacra," for 1850,—an article in which severity of criticism is united with perfect candor and kindness. Strictures offered in so faithful and friendly a spirit, he has not hesitated to accept, whenever they seemed just and important.

SEPTEMBER, 1868.



## ΑΙΣΧΙΝΟΤ

### Ὁ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

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Τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ <sup>1</sup> τὴν παράταξιν, ὅση γεγένηται, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δεήσεις, αἷς κέχρηνται τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκῶς ἤκω πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς, δεύτερον δὲ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, ἡγούμενος οὐδεμίαν παρασκευὴν μείζον ἰσχύειν παρ' ὑμῖν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων. Ἐβουλόμεν <sup>2</sup> μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς νόμους οὓς ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Σόλων περὶ τῆς τῶν ῥητόρων εὐκοσμίας ἰσχύειν, ἵνα ἐξῇ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥσπερ <sup>54</sup> οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι, σώφρόνως ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρελθόντι ἄνευ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἐξ ἐμπειρίας τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ πόλει συμβουλεύειν, δεύτερον δ' ἥδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τὸν βουλόμενον καθ' ἡλικίαν χωρὶς καὶ ἐν μέρει περὶ ἐκάστου γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ ἢ τε πόλις ἄριστα διοικεῖσθαι αἷ τε κρίσεις ἐλάχισται γίνεσθαι.

- 3 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα τὰ πρότερον ὁμολογημένα καλῶς  
 ἔχειν νυνὶ καταλέλυσται, καὶ γράφουσί τινες ῥαδίως πα-  
 ρανόμους γνώμας, καὶ ταῦθ' ἕτεροί τινες τὰ ψηφίσματα  
 ἐπιψηφίζουσιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου τρόπου λαχόντες  
 προεδρεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς καθεζόμενοι, ἐὰν δέ τις  
 τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν ὄντως λάχῃ κληρούμενος προε-  
 δρεύειν καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χειροτονίας ὀρθῶς ἀναγορεύῃ,  
 τοῦτον οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν οὐκέτι κοινὴν, ἀλλ' ἰδίαν αὐτῶν  
 ἡγούμενοι εἶναι ἀπειλοῦσιν εἰσαγγέλλειν, καταδουλού-  
 μενοι τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ δυναστείας ἑαυτοῖς περιποιούντες,  
 4 καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καταλελύκασι,  
 τὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μετ' ὀργῆς κρίνουσιν, σεσί-  
 γηται μὲν τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον κήρυγμα  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει Τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν  
 ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ πάλιν  
 ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, τῆς δὲ τῶν ῥη-  
 τῶν ἀκοσμίας οὐκέτι κρατεῖν δύνανται οὔθ' οἱ νόμοι  
 οὔθ' οἱ πρυτάνεις οὔθ' οἱ πρόεδροι οὔθ' ἡ προεδρεύουσα  
 φυλή, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως.  
 5 Τούτων δ' ἐχόντων οὕτως, καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὄντων τῇ  
 πόλει τοιούτων ὁποίους τινὰς αὐτοὺς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνε-  
 τε εἶναι, ἐν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας (εἴ τι  
 καὶ γὰρ τυγχάνω γιγνώσκων), αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί.  
 Εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας καταλύσετε ἢ τοῖς καταλύουσιν ἐπι-  
 τρέψετε, προλέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς  
 6 πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες. Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄν-  
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶ πολιτεῖαι παρὰ πᾶσιν

ἀνθρώποις, τυραννὶς καὶ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ δημοκρατία, δι-  
 οιοῦνται δ' αἱ μὲν τυραννίδες καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι τοῖς τρό-  
 ποις τῶν ἐφεστηκότων, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι  
 τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένοις. Μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμῶν τοῦτ'  
 ἀγνοεῖτω, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἕκαστος ἐπιστάσθω, ὅτι ὅταν  
 εἰσὶν εἰς δικαστήριον γραφὴν παρανόμων δικάσων, ἐν  
 ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλει τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν περὶ τῆς  
 ἑαυτοῦ παρρῆσιας. Διόπερ καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο  
 πρῶτον ἔταξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν δικαστῶν ὅρκῳ, ψηφιοῦμαι  
 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκεῖνό γε εὖ εἰδώς, ὅτι ὅταν  
 διατηρηθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι τῇ πόλει, σώζεται καὶ ἡ δη-  
 μοκρατία.

Ἄ χρὴ διαμνημονεύοντας ὑμᾶς μισεῖν τοὺς τὰ παρά- 7  
 νομα γράφοντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι μικρὸν εἶναι τῶν  
 τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ὑπερμέγεθες, καὶ  
 τοῦθ' ὑμῶν τὸ δίκαιον μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἐξαιρεῖσθαι,  
 μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας, οἱ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἤδη  
 χρόνον συνεργοῦντές τισι τῶν ῥητόρων λυμαίνονται τὴν  
 πολιτείαν, μήτε τὰς τῶν ξένων δεήσεις, οὓς ἀναβιβαζό-  
 μενοί τινες ἐκφεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων, παράνομον  
 πολιτείαν πολιτευόμενοι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος  
 αἰσχυνθείη τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν ἢ ἂν ταχθῇ ἐν τῷ πο-  
 λέμῳ, οὕτω καὶ νῦν αἰσχύνητε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἢ  
 τέταχθε ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων, φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας τήνδε  
 τὴν ἡμέραν. Κακεῖνο δὲ χρὴ διαμνημονεύειν, ὅτι νῦν 8  
 ἅπαντες οἱ πολῖται παρακαταθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν καὶ  
 τὴν πολιτείαν διαπιστεύσαντες οἱ μὲν πάρεσι καὶ



ἐπακούουσι τῇσδε τῆς κρίσεως, οἱ δὲ ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ιδίῳν ἔργων· οὓς αἰσχυνόμενοι, καὶ τῶν ὄρκων οὓς ὠμό-  
 σατε μεμνημένοι καὶ τῶν νόμων, εἴαν ἐξελέγξωμεν  
 Κτησιφῶντα καὶ παράνομα γράψαντα καὶ ψευδῇ καὶ  
 ἀσύμφορα τῇ πόλει, λύετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς πα-  
 ρανόμους γνώμας, βεβαιούτε τῇ πόλει τὴν δημοκρα-  
 τίαν, κολλάζετε τοὺς ὑπεναντίως τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ  
 πόλει καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολιτευομένους.  
 Κὰν ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν διάνοιαν ἀκούητε τῶν μελ- 55  
 λόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι λόγων, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι δίκαια καὶ εὖορκα  
 καὶ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ψηφιεῖσθε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ  
 πόλει.

- 9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὅλης κατηγορίας μετρίως μοι ἐλπίζω  
 προειρηθῆσθαι· περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων οἱ κεῖνται  
 περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, παρ' οὓς τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο  
 τυγχάνει γεγραφὼς Κτησιφῶν, διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν  
 βούλομαι. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἄρχοντές  
 τινες τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς προσόδους διοικούν-  
 τεσ, καὶ δωροδοκοῦντες περὶ ἕκαστα τούτων, προσλαμ-  
 βάνοντες τοὺς τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πόρρωθεν προκατελάμβανον τὰς εὐθύνας  
 ἐπαίνοις καὶ κηρύγμασιν, ὥστ' ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις τῶν  
 ἀρχῶν εἰς τὴν μεγίστην μὲν ἀπορίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τοὺς  
 10 κατηγορούς, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς δικαστάς. Πολ-  
 λοὶ γὰρ πάνυ τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ κλέπται  
 τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ὄντες ἐξελεγχόμενοι διεφύγα-  
 νον ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων, εἰκότως· ἡσχύνοντο γάρ, οἶμαι,

οἱ δικασταί, εἰ φανήσεται ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, πρώην μὲν ποτε ἀναγορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὅτι στεφανοῦται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου κλοπῆς ἕνεκα τὰς εὐθύνas ὠφληκῶς· ὥστε ἠναγκάζοντο τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν οἱ δικασταὶ οὐ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀδικήματος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνης τοῦ δήμου.

Κατιδὼν δέ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον καὶ 11 μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα, τὸν διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν. Καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως εὖ προκατειληφότες τοῦ νομοθέτου εὗρηνται λόγοι κρείττους τῶν νόμων, οὓς εἰ μὴ τις ὑμῖν ἐρεῖ, λήσετε ἐξαπατηθέντες. Τούτων γάρ τινες τῶν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανούντων παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ μὲν φύσει μέτριοί εἰσιν (εἰ δὴ τις ἔστι μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γραφόντων), ἀλλ' οὖν προβάλλονται γέ τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης. Προσεγγράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματα στεφανοῦν τὸν ὑπεύθυνον, ἐπειδὰν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ. Καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἴσον ἀδίκημα ἀδι- 12 κείται (προκαταλαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνοις καὶ στεφάνοις αἱ εὐθύναι), ὁ δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν παράνομα, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων κείμενον, καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν ἣν ἐγὼ ἀρτίως προεῖπον ὑμῖν

ἀνελών, πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

- 3 Λέξουσιν δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα λόγον ὑπεναντίον τῷ ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ, ὥς ἄρα ὅσα τις αἰρετὸς ὢν πράττει κατὰ ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχή, ἀλλ' ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία· ἀρχὰς δὲ φήσουσιν ἐκείνας εἶναι ἃς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ, καὶ ἐκείνας ἃς ὁ δῆμος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγούς καὶ ἱππάρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀρχάς, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα πραγματείας προστε-
- 4 ταγμένας κατὰ ψήφισμα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τούτων νόμον ὑμέτερον παρέξομαι, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐνομοθετήσατε λύσειν ἡγούμενοι τὰς τοιαύτας προφάσεις, ἐν ᾧ διαρρήδην γέγραπται, τὰς χειροτονητάς, φησιν, ἀρχὰς (ἀπάσας ἐνὶ περιλαβὼν ὀνόματι ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ προσειπὼν ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας εἶναι ἃς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ), καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας φησὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων (ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιός, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων) καὶ πάντας ὅσοι διαχειρίζουσιν τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμβάνουσιν ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων (οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἐπισταταὶ 56
- 5 πάντες ἡγεμονία χρῶνται δικαστηρίου). — τί τούτους κελεύει ποιεῖν; Οὐ διακονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ (ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ κληρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ οὐκ ἀδοκίμαστοι, ἀλλὰ δοκιμασθεῖσαι ἄρχουσιν), καὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα καὶ



τοὺς λογιστάς, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχας, κελεύει.  
 Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοὺς νόμους ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς ἀναγνώ-  
 σεται.

## ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Ὅταν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃς ὁ νομοθέτης ἀρ-<sup>16</sup>  
 χὰς ὀνομάζει, οὗτοι προσαγορεύωσι πραγματείας καὶ  
 ἐπιμελείας, ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ  
 ἀντιτάττειν τὸν νόμον πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀναίδειαν, καὶ  
 ὑποβάλλειν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον σο-  
 φιστὴν οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, ἀλλ'  
 ὅσῳ ἂν τις ἄμεινον λέγῃ παράνομα γεγραφώς, τοσοῦτω  
 μείζονος ὀργῆς τεύξεται. Χρὴ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 τὸ αὐτὸ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τὸν νόμον· ὅταν δὲ  
 ἐτέραν μὲν φωνὴν ἀφίῃ ὁ νόμος, ἐτέραν δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ, τῷ  
 τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ χρὴ διδόναι τὴν ψῆφον, οὐ τῇ τοῦ  
 λέγοντος ἀναισχυντίᾳ.

Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἄφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημοσθένης,<sup>17</sup>  
 βραχεία βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Λέξει γὰρ οὗτος, τειχο-  
 ποιός εἰμι· ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ' ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ  
 πόλει μνᾶς ἑκατὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον μείζον ἐξείρ-  
 γασμαι. Τίνος οὖν εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, εἰ μὴ τίς  
 ἐστὶν εὐνοίας εὐθύνη; Πρὸς δὲ ταύτην τὴν πρό-  
 φασιν ἀκούσατέ μου λεγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ ὑμῖν συμ-  
 φέροντα. Ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἀρχαία οὔση  
 καὶ τηλικαύτῃ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν  
 καὶ ὁπωσοῦν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων. Διδάξω<sup>18</sup>  
 δ' ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων, οἷον τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ

τὰς ἱερείας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ συλλή-  
 βδην ἅπαντας καὶ χωρὶς ἐκάστους κατὰ σῶμα, τοὺς τὰ  
 γέρα μόνον λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρὸς  
 τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομένους, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 κοινῇ τὰ γένη, Εὐμολπίδας καὶ κήρυκας καὶ τοὺς ἄλ-  
 19 λους ἅπαντας. Πάλιν τοὺς τριηράρχους ὑπευθύνους  
 εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος οὐ τὰ κοινὰ διαχειρίσαντας οὐδ'  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων προσόδων πολλὰ μὲν ὑφαιρουμένους,  
 βραχέα δὲ κατατιθέντας, ἐπιδιδόναι δὲ φάσκοντας, ἀπο-  
 διδόντας δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἀλλ' ὁμολογουμένως τὰς  
 πατρώας οὐσίας εἰς τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀνηλωκότας φι-  
 λοτιμίαν.

Οὐ τοίνυν μόνοι οἱ τριήραρχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συνεδρίων ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων  
 20 ἔρχεται ψῆφον. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐν  
 Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς ὁ νόμος  
 κελεύει λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας διδόναι, καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ σκυ-  
 θρωπὸν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κυρίαν ἄγει ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμέτεραν  
 ψῆφον. Οὐκ ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ  
 Ἀρείου πάγου; Οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς. Οὐκ  
 ἄρα φιλοτιμοῦνται; Πάνυ γε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν ἐάν  
 τις παρ' αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικῇ, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις ἐξαμαρτάνῃ κο-  
 λάζουσιν· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ῥήτορες τρυφῶσι. Πάλιν τὴν  
 βουλήν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους, ὑπεύθυνον πεποίηκεν ὁ νο-  
 21 μοθέτης. Καὶ οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις  
 ὥστ' εὐθέως ἀρχόμενος τῶν νόμων λέγει ἀρχὴν ὑπεύ-  
 θυνόν φησι μὴ ἀποδημεῖν. Ὡς Ἡράκλεις (ὑπο-

λάβοι ἂν τις), ὅτι ἤρξα, μὴ ἀποδημήσω; "Ἰνα γε μὴ  
 προλαβὼν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἢ πράξεις δρασμῶ  
 χρήσῃ. Πάλιν ὑπεύθυνον οὐκ ἔᾶ τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν  
 οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι οὐδ' ἐκποιήτον γενέσθαι οὐδὲ  
 διαθέσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ οὐδ' ἄλλα πολλά· ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ  
 ἐνεχυράζει τὰς οὐσίας ὁ νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν ὑπευθύνων,  
 ἕως ἂν λόγον ἀποδῶσι τῇ πόλει. Ναί, ἀλλ' ἔστι τις 22  
 ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐτ' εἴληφεν οὐδὲν τῶν δημοσίων οὐτ' ἀνή-  
 λωκε, προσῆλθε δὲ πρὸς τι τῶν κοινῶν. Καὶ τοῦτον  
 ἀποφέρειν κελεύει λόγον πρὸς τοὺς λογιστάς. Καὶ  
 57 πῶς ὃ γε μηδὲν λαβὼν μηδ' ἀναλώσας ἀποίσει λόγον  
 τῇ πόλει; Αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει καὶ διδάσκει ὁ νόμος ἃ  
 χρὴ γράφειν· κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι  
 οὐτ' ἔλαβον οὐδὲν τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὐτ' ἀνή-  
 λωσα. Ἀνεύθυνον δὲ καὶ ἀζήτητον καὶ ἀνεξέταστον  
 οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. "Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω,  
 αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε τῶν νόμων.

## ΝΟΜΟΙ.

"Ὅταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης λέγων 23  
 ὥς διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεύθυνος, ἐκείνο αὐτῷ  
 ὑποβάλλετε, οὐκ οὐν ἐχρήν σε, ὦ Δημόσθενες, ἔᾶ-  
 σαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα κηρύξαι τὸ πά-  
 τριον καὶ ἔννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, Τίς βούλεται  
 κατηγορεῖν; "Ἐασον ἀμφισβητῆσαί σοι τὸν  
 βουλόμενον τῶν πολιτῶν ὥς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ'  
 ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἔχεις εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰ-  
 κοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέθηκας, δέκα τάλαντα εἰς



ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰληφώς. Μὴ ἄρπαζε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μηδὲ ἐξαιροῦ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, μηδ' ἔμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὕστερος πολιτεύου. Ταῦτα γὰρ ὀρθοῖ τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

24 Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς κενὰς προφάσεις, ἃς οὗτοι προφασιοῦνται, μέχρι δεῦρο εἰρήσθω μοι· ὅτι δὲ ὄντως ἦν ὑπεύθυνος ὁ Δημοσθένης ὅθ' οὗτος εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ψήφισμα, ἄρχων μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ἀρχήν, ἄρχων δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν, οὐδετέρας δέ πω τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων λόγον ὑμῖν οὐδ' εὐθύνας δεδωκώς, ταῦτ' ἤδη πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων. Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ποίου μηνὸς καὶ ἐν τίνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ.

#### ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ἩΜΕΡΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι περαιτέρω τούτου δείξαίμι, δικαίως ἂν ἀλίσκοιτο Κτησιφῶν· αἰρεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐχ ἡ κατηγορία ἢ ἐμῇ, ἀλλὰ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα.

25 Πρότερον μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντιγραφεὺς ἦν χειροτονητὸς τῇ πόλει, ὃς καθ' ἐκάστην πρυτανείαν ἀπελογίζετο τὰς προσόδους τῷ δήμῳ· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὐβουλον γενομένην πίστιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι ἦρχον μὲν πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἀντιγραφέως ἀρχήν, ἦρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν καὶ νεωρίων ἀρχήν, καὶ σκευοθήκην ὠκοδόμουν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ σχεδὸν τὴν ὅλην

διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ οὐ κατηγορῶν αὐτῶν 26  
οὐδ' ἐπιτιμῶν λέγω, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο ὑμῖν ἐνδείξασθαι βούλο-  
μαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης, εἴαν τις μιᾶς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐλα-  
χίστης ὑπεύθυνος ᾗ, τοῦτον οὐκ ἔα πρὶν ἂν λόγους καὶ  
εὐθύνας δῶ στεφανοῦν, ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθένην τὸν  
συλλήβδην ἀπάσας τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὰς ἄρχοντα οὐκ  
ᾤκησε γράψαι στεφανῶσαι.

Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν ἀρχὴν ἦρχεν ὅθ' 27  
οὗτος τὸ ψηφίσμα ἔγραψε, καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα  
διεχείριζε καὶ ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι  
ἄρχοντες, καὶ δικαστηρίων ἡγεμονίας ἐλάμβανε, τούτων  
ὑμῖν αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Κτησιφῶντα μάρτυρας πα-  
ρέξομαι. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος Θαρρηλιῶνος  
μηνὸς δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος ἐκκλησίας οὔσης ἔγραψε ψη-  
φίσμα Δημοσθένους ἀγορὰν ποιῆσαι τῶν φυλῶν Σκιρο-  
φοριῶνος δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου καὶ τρίτῃ, καὶ ἐπέταξεν ἐν  
τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐκάστης τῶν φυλῶν ἐλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμε-  
ληθησομένους τῶν ἔργων ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ ταμίας, καὶ  
μάλα ὀρθῶς, ἵν' ἡ πόλις ἔχοι ὑπεύθυνα σώματα, παρ'  
ᾧ ἐμελλε τῶν ἀνηλωμένων λόγον ἀπολήφεισθαι. Καί  
μοι λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματα.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ναί, ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαπλέκει πρὸς τοῦτο εὐθύς ὥς οὗτ' 28  
ἔλαχε τειχοποιὸς οὗτ' ἐχειροτονήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.  
Καὶ περὶ τούτου Δημοσθένους μὲν καὶ Κτησιφῶν πολλὴν  
ποιησονται λόγον· ὁ δέ γε νόμος βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς  
καὶ ταχὺ λύων τὰς τούτων τέχνας. Μικρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν

29 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρῶτον προειπεῖν βούλομαι. Ἔστι γάρ, 58  
 ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἶδη τρία, ὧν ἐν μὲν  
 καὶ πᾶσι φανερώτατον οἱ κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοὶ  
 ἄρχοντες, δεύτερον δὲ ὅσοι τι διαχειρίζουσι τῶν τῆς πό-  
 λεως ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων  
 ἐπιστάται· τρίτον δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, καὶ εἴ  
 τινες ἄλλοι αἵρετοὶ ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων  
 λαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτους ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέν-  
 30 τας. Ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀφέλῃ τις τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου  
 κεχειροτονημένους καὶ τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας, κατα-  
 λείπεται, οὓς αἱ φυλαὶ καὶ αἱ τριττύες καὶ οἱ δήμοι ἐξ  
 ἐαυτῶν αἱροῦνται τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διαχειρίζειν, τού-  
 τους αἵρετοὺς ἄρχοντας εἶναι. Τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ὅταν,  
 ὥσπερ νῦν, ἐπιταχθῇ τι ταῖς φυλαῖς, ἢ τάφρους ἐξεργά-  
 ζεσθαι ἢ τριήρεις ναυπηγεῖσθαι. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω,  
 ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων μαθήσεσθε.

## ΝΟΜΟΙ.

31 Ἀναμνήσθητε δὴ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους, ὅτι ὁ  
 μὲν νομοθέτης τοὺς ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν ἄρχειν κελεύει δοκι-  
 μασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἡ δὲ Πανδιονὶς φυλὴ  
 ἄρχοντα καὶ τειχοποιὸν ἀπέδειξε Δημοσθένην, ὃς ἐκ τῆς  
 διοικήσεως εἰς ταῦτα ἔχει μικροῦ δεῖν δέκα τάλαντα,  
 ἕτερος δ' ἀπαγορεύει νόμος ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφα-  
 νοῦν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ὁμωμόκατε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι,  
 ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ γέγραφε τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν οὐ προσ-  
 θεὶς ἐπειδὰν δῶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξ-  
 ελέγχω τὸ παράνομον μάρτυρας ἅμα τοὺς νόμους καὶ



τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους παρεχόμενος. Πῶς οὖν ἂν τις περιφανέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ἄνθρωπον παράνομα γεγραφότα ;

Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου παρανό- 32 μως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς διδάξω. Ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κελεύει, εἰ μὲν τινα στεφανοὶ ἢ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. Καί μοι λέγε τὸν νόμον.

#### ΝΟΜΟΣ.

Οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς 33 ἔχει. Οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτης οὕτως · ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς ; Ἀναγίγνωσκε τὸ ψηφίσμα.

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἀκούετε, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης 34 κελεύει ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν Πυκνὴ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον ὑπερβάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκών, οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, οὐδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου, ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἵν' ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἷον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν.

Οὕτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παράνομα γεγραφώς, παρα- 35 ταχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐποίσει τέχνας τοῖς νόμοις ·

ἄς ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἑξαπα-  
 τηθέντες. Οὗτοι γάρ, ὥς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ  
 νόμοι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττειν  
 ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὐχ ἔξουσιν λέγειν, οἴσουσι δὲ εἰς  
 τὴν ἀπολογίαν τὸν Διουνυσιακὸν νόμον, καὶ χρήσονται  
 36 τοῦ νόμου μέρος τινὶ κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὑμῶν, καὶ  
 παρέξονται νόμον οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῇδε τῇ γραφῇ, καὶ  
 λέξουσιν ὥς εἰσὶ τῇ πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν  
 κηρυγμάτων, εἰς μὲν ὃν νῦν ἐγὼ παρέχομαι διαρρήδην  
 ἀπαγορεύοντα τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ  
 κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἕτερον δ' εἶναι νόμον  
 φήσουσιν ἐναντίον τούτῳ, τὸν δεδωκότα ἐξουσίαν ποι-  
 εῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγωδοῖς ἐν τῷ  
 θεάτρῳ, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος· κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν  
 νόμον φήσουσι γεγραφέναι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα. Ἐγὼ δὲ  
 37 πρὸς τὰς τούτων τέχνας παρέξομαι συνηγόρους τοὺς  
 νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ὅπερ διατελῶ σπουδάζων παρὰ 59  
 πᾶσαν τὴν κατηγορίαν. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀληθὲς  
 καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔθος παραδέδυκεν ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν  
 ὥστ' ἀκύρους νόμους ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις ἀναγεγράφθαι  
 καὶ δύο περὶ μιᾶς πράξεως ὑπεναντίους ἀλλήλοις, τι  
 ἂν ἔτι ταύτην εἴποι τις εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν ᾗ  
 ταῦτα προστάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν ;  
 38 Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔχει ταῦθ' οὕτως· μήθ' ὑμεῖς ποτὲ εἰς  
 τοσαύτην ἀταξίαν τῶν νόμων προβαίητε, οὔτε ἡμέ-  
 ληται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τὴν δημοκρα-  
 τίαν καταστήσαντι, ἀλλὰ διαρρήδην προστέτακται τοῖς

θεσμοθέταις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν διορθοῦν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαντας καὶ σκεψαμένους εἴ τις ἀναγέγραπται νόμος ἐναντίος ἐτέρῳ νόμῳ ἢ ἄκυρος ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις, ἢ εἴ πού εἰσι νόμοι πλείους ἐνὸς ἀναγεγραμμένοι περὶ ἐκάστης πράξεως. Καὶν τι τοιοῦτον εὐρίσκωσιν, ἀναγεγραφóτας ἐν σανίσιν <sup>39</sup> ἐκτιθέναι κελεύει πρόσθεν τῶν Ἑπωνύμων, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιγράψαντας νομοθέτας, τὸν δ' ἐπιστάτην τῶν προέδρων διαχειροτονίαν διδόναι τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεῖν τῶν νόμων, τοὺς δὲ καταλείπειν, ὅπως ἂν εἷς ἢ νόμος καὶ μὴ πλείους περὶ ἐκάστης πράξεως. Καί μοι λέγε τοὺς νόμους.

## ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Εἰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀληθὴς ἦν ὁ παρὰ <sup>40</sup> τούτων λόγος καὶ ἦσαν δύο κείμενοι νόμοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἶομαι, τῶν μὲν θεσμοθετῶν ἐξευρόντων, τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων ἀποδόντων τοῖς νομοθέταις ἀνήρητ' ἂν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν νόμων, ἥτοι ὁ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δεδωκὼς ἀνειπεῖν ἢ ὁ ἀπαγορεύων· ὁπότε δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται, φανερώς δὴ πού ἐξελέγχονται οὐ μόνον ψευδῇ λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι. Ὅθεν δὲ δὴ τὸ ψεῦδος τοῦτο ἐπι- <sup>41</sup> φέρουσιν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ὑμᾶς προειπὼν ὧν ἕνεκα οἱ νόμοι ἐτέθησαν οἱ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρυγμάτων. Γιγνομένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἄστει τραγῳδῶν ἀνεκήρυκτόν τινας, οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον, οἱ μὲν ὅτι στεφανοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν, ἕτεροι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν·



ἄλλοι δέ τινες ὑποκηρυζόμενοι τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκέτας ἀφί-  
 εσαν ἀπελευθέρους, μάρτυρας τῆς ἀπελευθερίας τοὺς  
 42 Ἕλληνας ποιοῦμενοι. Ὁ δ' ἦν ἐπιφθονώτατον, προ-  
 ξενίας τινὲς εὐρημένοι ἐν ταῖς ἔξω πόλεσι διεπράττοντο  
 ἀναγορεύεσθαι ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰ οὕτω  
 τύχοι, ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἢ Χίων ἢ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς πόλε-  
 ως, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπρατ-  
 του οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας στε-  
 φανούμενοι ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς καὶ μετὰ  
 ψηφίσματος, πολλὴν χάριν καταθέμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ  
 43 προελόμενοι ἄνευ δόγματος ὑμετέρου. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου  
 τοῦ τρόπου συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς καὶ τοὺς χορη-  
 γοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνακηρυτ-  
 τομένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μείζοσι τιμαῖς τιμᾶσθαι τῶν  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀποδέ-  
 δεικτο τόπος ἢ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ᾗ χρὴν στεφανοῦσθαι, καὶ  
 ἀπείρητο ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ κηρύττεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀνηγο-  
 ρεῦοντο ἐνώπιον ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων· κακῆνοι μὲν  
 μετὰ ψηφίσματος, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, οὗτοι δ' ἄνευ ψηφί-  
 σματος.

44 Συνιδὼν δὲ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν  
 ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανου-  
 μένων νόμῳ, οὔτε λύσας ἐκείνον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἢ ἐκκλησία  
 ἠνωχλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέατρον), οὔτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς πρό-  
 τερον κειμένοις νόμοις τίθεις (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν), ἀλλὰ  
 περὶ τῶν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ὑμετέρου στεφανουμένων  
 ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν τοὺς οἰκέ-

τας ἀπελευθερούντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων,  
 καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μήτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν  
 τῷ θεάτρῳ μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύ-  
 εσθαι στεφανούμενον, μήθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου, φησί, μηδενός, ἢ  
 60 ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα. Ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς μὲν 45  
 ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον  
 ἀναρρήθῃναι, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένοις εἰς  
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν στεφανουμέ-  
 νοις καὶ φυλετῶν ἀπείπη μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τραγω-  
 δοῖς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα  
 ψευδῇ φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶται, προσαπείπη δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ  
 μηδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀνακηρύττεσθαι ἀπούσης βου-  
 λῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν, — ὅταν δέ τις  
 ταῦτα ἀφέλῃ, τί τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἐστι πλὴν οἱ ξeni-  
 κοὶ στέφανοι; Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, μέγα σημεῖον ὑμῖν 46  
 τούτου ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξω. Αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν  
 χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ὃς ἂν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῷ ἐν ἅστει  
 ἀναρρήθῃ, ἱερὸν εἶναι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ νόμος κελεύει,  
 ἀφελόμενος τὸν στεφανούμενον. Καίτοι τίς ἂν ὑμῶν  
 τολμήσειε τοσαύτην ἀνελευθερίαν καταγνῶναι τοῦ δή-  
 μου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων; Μὴ γὰρ ὅτι πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν  
 ἰδιώτης οὐδὲ εἰς οὕτως ἀγεννῆς γένοιτο ὥστε ὃν αὐτὸς  
 ἔδωκε στέφανον ἅμα ἀνακηρύττειν καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ  
 καθιεροῦν. Ἀλλ' οἶμαι, διὰ τὸ ξενικὸν εἶναι τὸν στέ-  
 φανον καὶ ἡ καθιέρωσις γίγνεται, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀλλοτρίαν  
 εὐνοίαν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος τῆς πατρίδος χείρων  
 γένηται τὴν ψυχὴν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκ- 47

κλησία ἀναρρήθέντα στέφανον οὐδεὶς καθιεροῖ, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι κεκτῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου, ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸ ὑπόμνημα, μηδέποτε κακοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον γίνωνται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐὰν μὴ ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἢ ἡ πόλις ἢ βουλομένη τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων στεφανοῦν πρέσβεις πέμψασα δεηθῇ τοῦ δήμου, ἵνα κηρυττόμενος μείζω χάριν εἰδῇ τῶν στεφανούντων ὑμῖν, ὅτι κηρῦξαι ἐπετρέψατε. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε.

## ΝΟΜΟΙ.

48 Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν ἐξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν ὡς προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐξεῖναι στεφανοῦν, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλειν, ναί, εἴ γέ σε τίς ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ· εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἀποδέδεικταί σοι τόπος ὅπου δεῖ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀπείρηταί σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. Τὸ γὰρ ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ ὅ τι ἔστιν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγε· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφας.

49 Ἔστι δὲ ὑπόλοιπόν μοι μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα σπονδάζω· τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ἡ πρόφασις δι' ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι. Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀναγορεύειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθείας, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅτι διατελεῖ



λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ.  
 Ἀπλοῦς δὲ παντάπασιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν λόγος γί- 50  
 γνεται, καὶ ὑμῖν ἀκούσασι κρῖναι εὐμαθής· δεῖ γὰρ δὴ  
 πού τὸν μὲν κατηγοροῦντα ἐμὲ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπιδεικνύναι,  
 ὥς εἰσὶν οἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἔπαινοι ψευδεῖς καὶ ὥς  
 οὔτ' ἤρξατο λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα οὔτε νῦν διατελεῖ πρᾶτ-  
 των τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ. Κἂν τοῦτ' ἐπιδείξω, δι-  
 καίως δὲ πού τὴν γραφὴν ἀλώσεται Κτησιφῶν· ἅπαντες  
 γὰρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι μηδένα ψευδῆ γράμματα  
 ἐγγράφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι. Τῷ δ' ἀπολο-  
 γουμένῳ τοῦναντίον τούτου δεικτέον ἐστίν. Ὑμεῖς δ'  
 ἡμῖν ἔσεσθε τῶν λόγων κριταί. Ἐχει δ' οὕτως.

Ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν βίον τὸν Δημοσθένους ἐξετάζειν μα- 51  
 κροτέρου λόγου ἔργον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι. Τί γὰρ δεῖ νῦν  
 ταῦτα λέγειν, ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ τραύματος γραφὴν  
 αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότα, ὅτ' ἐγράψατο εἰς Ἀρεῖον πάγον  
 Δημομέλη τὸν Παιανιέα ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τὴν  
 τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτομὴν· ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν Κηφισοδότου  
 52 στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸν τῶν νεῶν ἔκπλου τὸν εἰς Ἑλλήσ-  
 ποντον, ὅτε εἰς ὧν τῶν τριηράρχων Δημοσθένης καὶ  
 περιάγων τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς καὶ συσσιτῶν καὶ  
 συνθύων καὶ συσπένδων, καὶ τούτων ἀξιοθεῖς διὰ τὸ  
 πατρικὸς αὐτῷ φίλος εἶναι, οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἀπ' εἰσαγγε-  
 λίας αὐτοῦ κρινομένου περὶ θανάτου κατήγορος γενέ-  
 σθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη τὰ περὶ Μειδίαν καὶ τοὺς κονδύ-  
 λους οὓς ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ χορηγὸς ὢν, καὶ ὥς  
 ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντα μνῶν ἅμα τήν τε εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριν

καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου καταχειροτονίαν, ἣν ἐν Διονύσου  
 53 κατεχειροτόνησε Μειδίου. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι δοκῶ  
 καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ὑπερβήσεσθαι, οὐ προδι-  
 δοὺς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο  
 φοβούμενος, μή μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ τὸ δοκεῖν μὲν  
 ἀληθῆ λέγειν, ἀρχαῖα δὲ καὶ λίαν ὁμολογούμενα. Καί-  
 τοι, ὦ Κτησιφῶν, ὅτῳ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν αἰσchrῶν οὕτως  
 ἐστὶ πιστὰ καὶ γνώριμα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὥστε τὸν κατή-  
 γορον μὴ δοκεῖν ψευδῆ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ καὶ λίαν  
 προωμολογημένα, πότερα αὐτὸν δεῖ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ  
 στεφανωθῆναι, ἢ ψέγεσθαι; Καὶ σὲ τὸν ψευδῆ καὶ  
 παράνομα τολμῶντα γράφειν πότερα χρὴ καταφρονεῖν  
 τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἢ δίκην τῇ πόλει δοῦναι;

54 Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σα-  
 φέστερον εἰπεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δημο-  
 σθένην, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῇ, καταριθμείσθαι  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες ἤδη γεγέννηται  
 καιροὶ ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται. Ὡν ἓνα μὲν καὶ  
 [πάντων] πρῶτον, ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκούω, καταλογίζεται  
 ἐκείνου τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφι-  
 πόλεως ἐπολεμοῦμεν· τοῦτον δ' ἀφορίζεται τὸν χρόνον  
 τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἣν Φιλοκράτης ὁ  
 Ἀγνούσιος ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς  
 55 ἐγὼ δείξω. Δεύτερον δὲ καιρόν φησι γενέσθαι ὃν  
 ἡγομεν χρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλονότι μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας  
 ἐκείνης ἐν ᾗ καταλύσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ  
 πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον· τρί-

τον δὲ ὃν ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον μέχρι τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς  
ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν νῦν παρόντα καιρόν.  
Ταῦτα δὲ καταριθμησάμενος, ὡς ἀκούω, μέλλει με πα-  
ρακαλεῖν καὶ ἐπερωτᾶν ὁποίου τούτων τῶν τεττάρων  
αὐτοῦ καιρῶν κατηγορῶ καὶ πότε αὐτὸν οὐ τὰ βέλ-  
τιστά φημι τῷ δήμῳ πεπολιτεῦσθαι· καὶ μὴ θέλω  
ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλύπτωμαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκω,  
ἐκκαλύψειν μέ φησι προσελθὼν καὶ ἄξιον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα  
καὶ ἀναγκάσειν ἀποκρίνασθαι. "Ἰν' οὖν μήθ' οὗτος 56  
ἰσχυρίζεται ὑμεῖς τε προειδῆτε ἐγὼ τε ἀποκρίνωμαι,  
ἐναντίον σοι τῶν δικαστῶν, Δημόσθενες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
πολιτῶν ὅσοι δὴ ἔξωθεν περιεστᾶσι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν ὑπακούειν τῇσδε τῆς κρίσεως  
(ὁρῶ δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους παρόντας, ἀλλ' ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώ-  
ποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους),  
ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι ἀπάντων τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν κατη-  
γορῶ σου, οὓς σὺ διαιρῇ, καὶ οἳ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ οἱ 57  
δικασταὶ ἐξ ἴσου ἡμῶν ἀκούσωσι καὶ γὰρ δύνωμαι ἀπο-  
μνημονεύσαι ἅ σοι σύνοιδα, πάννυ προσδοκῶ ἐπιδείξειν  
τοῖς δικασταῖς τῆς μὲν σωτηρίας τῇ πόλει τοὺς θεοὺς  
αἰτίους γεγεννημένους καὶ τοὺς φιλανθρώπως καὶ με-  
τρίως τοῖς τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι χρησαμένους, τῶν δὲ  
ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημοσθένην αἴτιον γεγεννημένον.  
Καὶ χρήσομαι τῇ τοῦ λόγου τάξει ταύτῃ ἣν τοῦτον  
πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν ποιεῖσθαι, λέξω δὲ πρῶτον περὶ  
τοῦ πρώτου καιροῦ καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ  
τρίτου περὶ τοῦ ἐφεξῆς καὶ τέταρτον περὶ τῶν νῦν



καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων. Καὶ δὴ ἐπανάγω ἑμαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν σὺ καὶ Φιλοκράτης ἐγράψατε.

58 Ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐξεγένετ' ἄν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν προ-  
 τέραν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι μετὰ κοινοῦ συνε-  
 δρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινες ὑμᾶς εἶασαν περιμεῖναι τὰς 62  
 πρεσβείας ἃς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες κατ' ἐκείνου τὸν καιρὸν  
 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, μετα-  
 σχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου  
 παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν·  
 καὶ τούτων ἀπεστερήθητε διὰ Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλο-  
 κράτην καὶ τὰς τούτων δωροδοκίας, ἃς ἐδωροδόκησαν  
 59 συστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ ὑμέτερον. Εἰ δέ τιςιν  
 ὑμῶν ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν  
 ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε  
 ἀκρόασιν, ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ  
 πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεζώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. Ἐρ-  
 χόμεθα δὴ πού ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίοτε δόξας ἔχοντες  
 κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴν ὁ λογισμὸς  
 συγκεφαλαιωθῇ, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν  
 φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ  
 ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρήῃ.  
 60 Οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθε. Εἴ τινες  
 ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων ἤκουσιν οἴκοθεν τοιαύ-  
 την ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν  
 πώποτε εἴρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστὰς μετὰ Φιλοκρά-  
 τους, — ὅστις οὕτω διάκειται, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν  
 μήτε καταγνώτω πρὶν ἀκύβη· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. Ἀλλ'

ἐὰν ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων ἀκούσητε ὑπομιμνήσκοντος τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα παρεχομένου ὃ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης, ἐὰν αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λογισμὸς ἐγκαταλαμβάνῃ τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγραφότα ψηφίσματα Φιλοκράτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς <sup>61</sup> εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ αἰσχύνῃς κεκολακευκότα Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις οὐκ ἀναμείναντα, αἴτιον δὲ γεγονότα τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἔκδοτον δὲ Φιλίππῳ πεπονηκόα Κερσοβλέπτην τὸν Θράκης βασιλέα, ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῇ πόλει, ἐὰν ταῦθ' ὑμῖν σαφῶς ἐπιδείξω, δεήσομαι ὑμῶν μετρίαν δέξιν· ἐπινεύσατέ μοι πρὸς θεῶν τὸν πρῶτον τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν μὴ καλῶς αὐτὸν πεπολιτεῦσθαι. Δέξω δὲ ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακολουθήσετε.

Ἐγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἐξεῖναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο κήρυκα <sup>62</sup> καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας· τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη παρανόμων. Ἦκον οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι· κατηγόρει μὲν Λυκῖνος ὁ γραψάμενος, ἀπελογεῖτο δὲ Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογεῖτο δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπῆει ὁ χρόνος, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων· ἐνταῦθ' εἰσέρχεται βουλευτῆς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης, οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχὼν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος, ἵν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγοι καὶ πράττοι Φιλοκράτει, ὥς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον. Νικᾷ γὰρ ἕτερον ψήφισμα <sup>63</sup>

Φιλοκράτης, ἐν ᾧ κελεύει ἐλέσθαι δέκα πρέσβεις, οἵτι-  
 νες ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀξιώσουσιν αὐτὸν δεῦρο  
 πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. Τού-  
 των εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης. Κακείθεν ἐπανήκων ἐπαινέτης  
 ἦν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν ἀπήγ-  
 γειλε, καὶ μόνος τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔγραψε σπείσασθαι  
 τῷ κήρυκι τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν,  
 ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει· ὁ μὲν γε τὴν ἐξουσίαν  
 ἔδωκε τοῦ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπεσθαι, ὁ  
<sup>64</sup> δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ σπένδεται. Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη  
 σφόδρα μοι τὸν νοῦν προσέχετε. Ἐπράττετο γὰρ οὐ  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις τοὺς πολλὰ συκοφαντηθέν-  
 τας ὕστερον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ  
 πρὸς Φιλοκράτην καὶ Δημοσθένην, εἰκότως, τοὺς ἅμα  
 μὲν πρεσβεύοντας, ἅμα δὲ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντας,  
 πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως μὴ περιμείνητε τοὺς πρέσβεις οὓς ἦτε  
 ἐκπεπομφότες παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ἵνα μὴ <sup>63</sup>  
 μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ποιήσησθε τὴν  
<sup>65</sup> εἰρήνην· δεύτερον δ' ὅπως μὴ μόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ συμμαχίαν εἶναι ψηφιεῖσθε πρὸς Φίλιππον, ἵν' εἴ-  
 τινες προσέχοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, εἰς τὴν ἐσχά-  
 την ἐμπέσοιεν ἀθυμίαν ὀρώντες ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς μὲν πα-  
 ρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἴκοι δὲ μὴ μόνον εἰρή-  
 νην, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐψηφισμένους ποιεῖσθαι·  
 τρίτον δὲ ὅπως Κερσοβλέπτης ὁ Θράκης βασιλεὺς μὴ  
 ἔσται ἔνορκος, μηδὲ μετέσται τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ τῆς εἰ-  
 ρήνης αὐτῷ. Παρηγγέλλετο δ' ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρα-  
 τεία.



Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἐξωνούμενος οὐκ ἠδίκηι (πρὸ γὰρ <sup>66</sup> τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμέσητον ἦν αὐτῷ πράττειν τὰ συμφέροντα), οἱ δ' ἀποδόμενοι καὶ κατακοινωνήσαντες τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἰσχυρὰ μεγάλης ὀργῆς ἦσαν ἄξιοι. Ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων εἶναι καὶ τότε μισοφίλιππος Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, γράφει ψήφισμα, τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς πόλεως ὑφαιρούμενος, ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν τοὺς πρυτάνεις τῇ ὁγδόῃ ἰσταμένου <sup>67</sup> τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνός, ὅτ' ἦν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἡ θυσία καὶ ὁ προαγών, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ὃ πρότερον οὐδεὶς μέμνηται γενόμενον, τίνα πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος; Ἰνα, φησὶν, εἰ ἤδη παρῶσιν οἱ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις, βουλευσῆται ὁ δῆμος ὥς τάχιστα περὶ τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον, τοῖς οὕτω παροῦσι πρέσβεσι προκαταλαμβάνων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατασπεύδων, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐπανελθόντων τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων, ἀλλὰ μόνοι ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρήνην. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἤκου οἱ <sup>68</sup> Φιλίππου πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ ὑμετεροὶ ἀπεδήμουν παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. Ἐνταῦθ' ἕτερον ψήφισμα νικᾷ Δημοσθένης, ἐν ᾧ γράφει μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίας ὑμᾶς βουλεύσασθαι, μὴ περιμεῖναντας τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει,

τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀκούσατε τῶν ψηφισμάτων.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

69 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, παρεληλύθει τὰ Διονύσια, ἐγίγνοντο δὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνεγνώσθη δόγμα [τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ δέκα] κοινὸν τῶν συμμάχων, οὗ τὰ κεφάλαια διὰ βραχέων ἐγὼ προερῶ. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγραψαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ὑμᾶς μόνον βουλεύσασθαι, τὸ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας ὄνομα ὑπερέβησαν, οὐκ ἐπιλελησμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀναγκαιοτέραν ἢ καλλίω ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι. ἔπει-  
70 τα ἀπήντησαν ὀρθῶς ἰασόμενοι τὸ Δημοσθένους δωροδόκημα, καὶ προσέγραψαν ἐν τῷ δόγματι ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τρισὶ μηνσὶν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην ἀναγεγράφθαι μετ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, δύο μέγιστα προκαταλαμβάνοντες, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς τριμήνου ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρεσβείαις ἱκανὸν γενέσθαι παρασκευάζοντες, ἔπειτὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίαν τῇ πόλει μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου κτώμενοι, ἵν' εἰ παραβαίνοιντο αἱ συνθήκαι, μὴ μόνοι μηδ' ἀπαράσκευοι πολεμήσαιμεν, ἃ νῦν ἡμῖν παθεῖν συνέβη διὰ Δημοσθένην. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντες μαθήσεσθε.

## ΔΟΓΜΑ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ.

71 Τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι συνειπεῖν ὁμολογῶ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δημηγοροῦντες· καὶ

ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆλθε τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν εἰληφώς, ὥς  
 ἔσται μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη, περὶ δὲ συμμαχίας οὐκ ἄμεινον  
 εἶη διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παράκλησιν βουλευέσασθαι,  
 ἔσται δὲ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων. Νῦξ  
 ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ παρήμεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ προκαταλαμβάνων Δημοσθένης  
 τὸ βῆμα, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραλιπὼν λόγον, οὐδὲν  
 64 ὄφελος ἔφη τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων εἶναι λόγων, εἰ  
 ταῦθ' οἱ Φιλίππου μὴ συμπεισθήσονται πρέσβεις,  
 οὐδὲ γινγνώσκειν ἔφη τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπούσης συμμαχίας.  
 Οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα μέμνημαι ὥς 12  
 εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνό-  
 ματος), ἀπορῥῆξαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν, οὐδὲ  
 τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ' ἢ πο-  
 λεμῆν αὐτοὺς ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. Καὶ  
 τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακαλέσας Ἀντίπατρον  
 ἐρώτημά τι ἡρώτα, προειπὼν μὲν ἃ ἐρήσεται, προ-  
 διδάξας δὲ ἃ χρὴ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποκρίνασθαι.  
 Καὶ τέλος ταῦτ' ἐνίκα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προβιασαμένου  
 Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα γράψαντος Φιλοκρά-  
 13 τος. Ὁ δὲ ἦν ὑπόλοιπον αὐτοῖς, Κερσοβλέπτην 13  
 καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπον ἔκδοτον ποιῆσαι, καὶ τοῦτ'  
 ἔπραξαν ἔκτῃ φθίνοντος τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνός,  
 πρὶν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν ἀπαίρειν πρεσβείαν τὴν ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς ὄρκους Δημοσθένην· ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος καὶ  
 μισοφίλιππος ὑμῖν οὕτοσὶ ῥήτωρ δις ἐπρέσβευσεν εἰς  
 Μακεδονίαν, ἐξὸν μηδὲ ἅπαξ, ὁ νυνὶ κελεύων τῶν



Μακεδόνων καταπτύειν. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν τῇ ἕκτῃ λέγω, καθεζόμενος βουλευτῆς ὢν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ἔκδοτον Κερσοβλέπτην μετὰ Φιλοκράτους  
 74 ἐποίησε. Λανθάνει γὰρ ὁ μὲν Φιλοκράτης ἐν ψηφίσματι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων παρεγγράψας (ὁ δ' ἐπιψηφίσας, Δημοσθένης), ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται ἀποδοῦναι δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς παρὰ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς συνέδρους τῶν συμμαχῶν. Παρὰ δὲ Κερσοβλέπτου σύνοδρος οὐκ ἐκάθητο· γράψας δὲ τοὺς συνεδρεύοντας ὁμνῦναι τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην οὐ συνεδρεύοντα  
 75 ἐξέκλεισε τῶν ὄρκων. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθί μοι τίς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα γράψας καὶ τίς ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιψηφίσας πρόεδρος.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ.

Καλόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καλὸν ἢ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων φυλακή· ἀκίνητον γάρ ἐστι καὶ οὐ μεταπίπτει τοῖς αὐτομολοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ, ὁπόταν βούληται, συνιδεῖν τοὺς πάλαι μὲν πονηροὺς, ἐκ μεταβολῆς δ' ἀξιούντας εἶναι χρηστούς.

76 Ὑπόλοιπον δ' ἐστὶ μοι τὴν κολακείαν αὐτοῦ διεξελθεῖν. Δημοσθένης γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευσας οὐδεμίαν πώποτε φανείται πρεσβείαν εἰς πρόεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον καὶ μόνον πρέσβεις εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε καὶ φοινικίδας περιεπέτασε καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

ηγείτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συ-  
ρίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν. Καὶ  
ὅτ' ἀπήεσαν εἰς Θήβας, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη  
ὀρικὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις προὔπεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, κα-  
ταγέλαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν. Ἴνα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπο-  
θέσεως μείνω, λάβε μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τῆς  
προεδρίας.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὗτος τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ τηλικούτος τὸ 77  
μέγεθος κόλαξ πρῶτος διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν πα-  
ρὰ Χαριδήμου πυθόμενος τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν τῶν  
μὲν θεῶν συμπλάσας ἑαυτῷ ἐνύπνιον κατεψεύσατο, ὥς  
οὐ παρὰ Χαριδήμου τὸ πρᾶγμα πεπυσμένος, ἀλλὰ  
παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, οὓς μεθ' ἡμέραν  
ἐπιορκῶν νύκτωρ φησὶν ἑαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὰ  
μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προλέγειν, ἐβδόμην δ' ἡμέραν τῆς  
θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτηκυίας, πρὶν πενθῆσαι καὶ  
τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν  
ἐσθήτα λαβὼν ἐβουθύτει καὶ παρηνόμει, τὴν μόνην ὁ  
δείλαιος καὶ πρώτην αὐτὸν πατέρα προσειποῦσαν ἀπο-  
λέσας. Καὶ οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα ὀνειδίζω, ἀλλὰ τὸν 78  
τρόπον ἐξετάζω. Ὁ γὰρ μισότεκνος καὶ πατὴρ πο-  
νηρὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δημαγωγὸς χρηστός, οὐδὲ  
ὁ τὰ φίλτατα καὶ οἰκειότατα σώματα μὴ στέργων  
οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεται τοὺς ἄλλο-  
τρίους, οὐδέ γε ὁ ἰδίᾳ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο  
65 δημοσίᾳ χρηστός, οὐδ' ὅστις ἐστὶν οἴκοι φαῦλος,

οὐδέποτ' ἦν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν καλὸς  
καγαθός· οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον  
μετήλλαξεν.

- 79 Πόθεν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἦλθε τῶν πρα-  
γμάτων (οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ δεύτερος καιρός), καὶ τί  
ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ αἷτιον ὅτι Φιλοκράτης μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν  
αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων Δημοσθένει φυγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγ-  
γελίας γεγένηται, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐπέστη τῶν ἄλλων  
κατήγορος, καὶ πόθεν ποθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἀτυχίας ὁ  
μιαρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐμβέβληκε, ταῦτ' ἤδη διαφερόντως
- 80 ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι. Ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα εἴσω Πυλῶν  
Φίλιππος παρήλθε καὶ τὰς τε ἐν Φωκεύσι πόλεις  
παραδόξως ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, Θηβαίους δέ, ὡς τόθ'  
ὑμῖν ἐδόκει, περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου  
συμφέροντος ἰσχυροὺς κατεσκεύασεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῶν  
ἀγρῶν φοβηθέντες ἐσκεναγωγήσατε, ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις  
δ' ἦσαν αἰτίαις οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ τὴν εἰρήνην πρεσβεύ-  
σαντες, πολὺ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόντως Φιλοκράτης  
καὶ Δημοσθένης διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον πρεσβεύειν, ἀλλὰ
- 81 καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γεγραφέναι (συνέβη δ' ἐν τοῖς  
αὐτοῖς χρόνοις διαφέρεισθαι τι Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλο-  
κράτην σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐ-  
τοὺς ὑπωπτεύσατε διενεχθῆναι) — τοιαύτης δὲ ἐμπι-  
πτούσης ταραχῆς μετὰ τῶν συμφύτων νοσημάτων αὐ-  
τῷ ἤδη τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, μετὰ δειλίας καὶ  
τῆς πρὸς Φιλοκράτην ὑπὲρ τῆς δωροδοκίας ζηλοτυπίας,  
καὶ ἡγήσατο, εἰ τῶν συμπρεσβευόντων καὶ τοῦ Φιλίπ-



που κατήγορος ἀναφανείη, τὸν μὲν Φιλοκράτην προδῆ-  
λως ἀπολείσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμπρέσβεις κινδυ-  
νεύσειν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐδοκίμησειν καὶ προδότης ὢν τῶν  
φίλων καὶ πονηρὸς πιστὸς τῷ δήμῳ φανήσεσθαι.

Κατιδόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῇ τῆς πόλεως προσπολε-<sup>82</sup>  
μοῦντες ἡσυχίᾳ ἄσμενοι παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, τὸν  
μόνον ἀδωροδόκητον ὀνομάζοντες τῇ πόλει· ὁ δὲ παριὼν  
ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς. Οὗτός  
ἐστίν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέρριον  
τείχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μουργίσκην  
καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανίδα, χωρία ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἤδει-  
μεν πρότερον. Καὶ ἐς τοῦτο φέρων περιέστησε τὰ  
πράγματα ὥστ' εἰ μὲν μὴ πέμποι Φίλιππος πρέσβεις,  
καταφρονεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ πέμποι,  
κατασκόπους πέμπειν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρέσβεις. Εἰ δὲ ἐπι-<sup>83</sup>  
τρέπειν ἐθέλοι πόλει τινὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ περὶ τῶν  
ἐγκλημάτων, οὐκ εἶναι κριτὴν ἴσον ἡμῖν ἔφη καὶ Φι-  
λίππῳ. Ἀλόννησον ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμ-  
βάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν  
διαφερόμενος. Καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον στεφανώσας τοὺς  
μετὰ Ἀριστοδήμου εἰς Θετταλίαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν παρὰ  
τὰς τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας ἐπιστρατεύσαντας τὴν μὲν  
εἰρήνην διέλυσε, τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον  
παρεσκεύασεν.

Ναί, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνοις τείχεσιν, ὥς<sup>84</sup>  
αὐτός φησι, τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῇ τῶν Εὐβοέων  
καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχίᾳ. Ἄλλ', ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,

περὶ ταῦτα τρία μέγιστα ἡδίκησθε καὶ μάλιστα ἡγνοήκατε. Σπεύδων δ' εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς θαυμαστῆς συμμαχίας τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων, ἵν' ἐφεξῆς εἴπω, περὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων πρῶτον μνησθήσομαι.

- 85 Ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡδικημένοι ὑπὸ Μνησάρχου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως, τοῦ Καλλίου καὶ Ταυροσθένους πατρός (οὓς οὗτος νυνὶ μισθὸν λαβὼν Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τολμᾷ γράφειν), καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος τοῦ Ἐρετριέως, ὃς ἡμῶν εἰρήνης οὔσης Ὀρωπὸν ἀφείλετο, τούτων ἐκόντες ἐπιλανθανόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ διέβησαν εἰς Εὐβοίαν Θηβαῖοι καταδουλώσασθαι τὰς πόλεις πειρώμενοι, ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις ἐβοηθήσατε αὐτοῖς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῇ δυνάμει, καὶ πρὶν τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας διελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους Θηβαίους ἀφήκατε, κύριοι τῆς Εὐβοίας γενόμενοι, καὶ τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπέδοτε ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τοῖς πα- 66 ρακαταθεμένοις, οὐχ ἡγούμενοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὀργὴν 86 ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν τῷ πιστευθῆναι. Καὶ τηλικαῦθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὖ πεπονθότες οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς οὐ τὰς ὁμοίας ὑμῖν ἀπέδοσαν χάριτας, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα διέβητε εἰς Εὐβοίαν Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσοντες, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ἀλλ' οὖν προσεποιούνθ' ὑμῖν εἶναι φίλοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα εἰς Ταμύνας παρήλθομεν καὶ τὸ Κοτύλαιον ὀνομαζόμενον ὄρος ὑπερεβάλλομεν, ἐνταῦθα Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς (ὃν Δημοσθένης μισθαρνῶν ἐνεκωμίαζεν), 87 ὁρῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τινὰς δυσχωρίας κατακεκλειμένον, ὅθεν μὴ νικήσασι μάχην οὐκ ἦν

ἀναχώρησις οὐδὲ βοηθείας ἐλπίς οὔτ' ἐκ γῆς οὔτ' ἐκ θαλάττης, συναγείρας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Εὐβοίας στρατόπεδον καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππου δύναμιν προσμεταπεμφάμενος, ὃ τ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ταυροσθένης, ὁ νυνὶ πάντας δεξιούμενος καὶ προσγελῶν, τοὺς Φωκικοὺς ξένους διαβιβάσας, ἦλθον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀναιρήσουντες. Καὶ εἰ<sup>88</sup> μὴ πρῶτον μὲν θεῶν τις ἔσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπειθ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ὑμέτεροι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸν ἐν Ταμύναις ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχῃ κρατήσαντες ἀφείσαν ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις αἰσχιστα παθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ δυστυχῆσαι κατὰ πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστι κακόν, ἀλλ' ὅταν τις πρὸς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀναξίους ἑαυτοῦ διακινδυνεύων ἀποτύχῃ, διπλασίαν εἰκὸς εἶναι τὴν συμφοράν. Ἄλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες πάλιν διελύσασθε πρὸς αὐτούς.

Τυχὼν δὲ συγγνώμης παρ' ὑμῶν Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκι-<sup>89</sup> δεὺς μικρὸν διαλιπὼν χρόνον πάλιν ἦκε φερόμενος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, Εὐβοϊκὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ συνέδριον εἰς Χαλκίδα συνάγων, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔργῳ παρασκευάζων, ἐξαίρετον δ' αὐτῷ τυραννίδα περιποιούμενος. Καὶ ταύτης ἐλπίζων συναγωνιστὴν Φίλιππον λήψεσθαι ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ περιῆει μετὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων εἰς ὠνομάζετο. Ἀδικήσας δὲ Φίλιππον κακείθεν ἀποδρὰς ὑπέ-<sup>90</sup> βαλεν ἑαυτὸν φέρων Θηβαίοις. Ἐγκαταλιπὼν δὲ κακείνους, καὶ πλείους τραπόμενος τροπὰς τοῦ Εὐρί-



που παρ' ὃν ᾧκει, εἰς μέσον πίπτει τῆς τε Θηβαίων  
 ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου. Ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρήσαιτο  
 αὐτῷ, καὶ παραγγελλομένης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατείας,  
 μίαν ἐλπίδα λοιπὴν κατείδε σωτηρίας ἔνορκον λαβεῖν  
 τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, σύμμαχον ὀνομασθέντα,  
 βοηθήσειν εἴ τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴοι. ὁ πρόδηλον ἦν ἐσό-  
 91 μενον, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς κωλύσετε. Ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς  
 ἀποστέλλει δεῦρο πρέσβεις Γλαυκέτην καὶ Ἐμπέ-  
 δωνα καὶ Διόδωρον τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα, φέροντας  
 τῷ μὲν δῆμῳ ἐλπίδας κενάς, Δημοσθένει δ' ἀργύριον  
 καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. Τρία δ' ἦν ἃ ἅμα ἐξωνεῖτο, πρῶ-  
 τον μὲν μὴ διασφαλῆναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συμμαχίας.  
 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ μέσον, εἰ μνησθεὶς τῶν προτέρων ἀδι-  
 κημάτων ὁ δῆμος μὴ προσδέξαιτο τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ'  
 ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ ἢ φεύγειν ἐκ Χαλκίδος ἢ τεθνάναι ἐγκα-  
 ταληφθέντι. τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεστρά-  
 τευον, ἣ τε Φιλίππου καὶ Θηβαίων. Δεύτερον δ' ἦκου  
 οἱ μισθοὶ τῷ γράψαντι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ  
 συνεδρεύειν Ἀθήνησι Χαλκιδέας, τρίτον δὲ ὥστε μὴ  
 92 τελεῖν συντάξεις. Καὶ τούτων τῶν προαιρέσεων οὐδε-  
 μιᾶς ἀπέτυχε Καλλίας, ἀλλ' ὁ μισοτύραννος Δημοσθέ-  
 νης, ὡς αὐτὸς προσποιεῖται (ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν τὰ  
 βέλτιστα λέγειν), ἀπέδοτο μὲν τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς τῆς  
 πόλεως, ἔγραψε δ' ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ βοηθεῖν ἡμᾶς  
 Χαλκιδεῦσι, ῥῆμα μόνον ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος, ἀντὶ  
 τούτων εὐφημίας ἔνεκα προσγράψας Χαλκιδέας βο-  
 93 θεῖν εἰάν τις ἴῃ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους. τὰς δὲ συνεδρίας καὶ 67

τὰς συντάξεις, ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύσειν ὁ πόλεμος ἤμελλεν, ἄρδην ἀπέδοτο, καλλίστοις ὀνόμασι αἰσχίστας πράξεις γράφων καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς, ὥς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν τὰς μὲν βοηθείας πρότερον ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀεὶ δεομένοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰς δὲ συμμαχίας ὑστέρας μετὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας. "Ἰνα δ' εὖ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, λάβε μοι τὴν Καλλίου γραφὴν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὕτω τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δεινόν, εἰ καιροὶ πέπρανται <sup>94</sup> τηλικούτοι καὶ συνεδρίαὶ καὶ συντάξεις, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τούτου δεινότερον ὑμῖν φανήσεται ὃ μέλλω λέγειν. Εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προήχθη Καλλίας μὲν ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ὕβρεως καὶ πλεονεξίας, Δημοσθένης δέ, ὃν ἐπαινεῖ Κτησιφῶν, δωροδοκίας, ὥστε τὰς ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ συντάξεις καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἐρετρίας, τὰ δέκα τάλαντα, ὀρώντων φρονούντων βλεπόντων ἔλαθον ὑμῶν ὑφελόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων συνέδρους παρ' ὑμῶν μὲν ἀνέστησαν, πάλιν δὲ εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Εὐβοϊκὸν συνέδριον συνήγαγον. Ὃν δὲ τρόπον καὶ δι' οἷων κακουργημάτων, ταῦτ' ἤδη ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι. Ἀφικνεῖται γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι δι' ἀγγέλων, ἀλλ' <sup>95</sup> αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγους διεξῆλθε κατεσκευασμένους ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους. Εἶπε γὰρ ὡς ἦκοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νεωστὶ σύνταγμα συντάξας εἰς ἑκατὸν τάλαντων πρόσοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, καὶ διελογίζετο ὅσον ἐκάστους ἔδει συντελεῖν, Ἀχαιοὺς

μὲν πάντας καὶ Μεγαρέας ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα, τὰς δ' 96 ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις ἀπάσας τετταράκοντα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ὑπάρξειν καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζὴν δύναμιν· εἶναι δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὓς βούλεσθαι κοινωνεῖν τῆς συντάξεως; Ὡστε οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε στρατιωτῶν ἔσσεσθαι ἀπορίαν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ φανερά· ἔφη δὲ καὶ πράξεις πράττειν ἐτέρας δι' ἀπορρήτων, καὶ τούτων εἶναί τινας μάρτυρας τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ τελευτῶν ὀνομαστὶ παρεκάλει Δημοσθένην καὶ συνειπεῖν ἡξίου.

97 Ὁ δὲ σεμνῶς πάνυ παρελθὼν τὸν τε Καλλίαν ὑπερεπήνει τό τε ἀπορρήτον προσεποιήσατο εἰδέναι· τὴν δ' ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείαν, ἣν ἐπρέσβευσε, καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας ἔφη βούλεσθαι ὑμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ κεφάλαιον τῶν λόγων πάντας μὲν Πελοποννησίους ὑπάρχειν, πάντας δ' Ἀκαρνᾶνας συντεταγμένους ἐπὶ Φίλιππον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, εἶναι δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα χρημάτων μὲν εἰς ἑκατὸν νεῶν ταχυναντουσῶν πληρώματα καὶ εἰς πεζοὺς στρατιώτας μυρίους καὶ ἱππέας χι- 98 λίους, ὑπάρξειν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μὲν πλείονας ἢ δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ ἐτέρους τοσοούτους· δεδοσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑμῖν·πραχθήσεσθαι δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἕκτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός· εἰρῇσθαι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παρηγγέλθαι πάντας ἡκεῖν συνεδρεύ- 99 σοντας Ἀθήναζε εἰς τὴν πανσέληνον. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο



ἄνθρωπος ἴδιον καὶ οὐ κοινὸν ποιεῖ. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀλαζόνες ὅταν τι ψεύδωνται, ἀόριστα καὶ ἀσαφὴ πειρῶνται λέγειν, φοβούμενοι τὸν ἔλεγχον. Δημοσθένης δ' ὅταν ἀλαζονεύηται, πρῶτον μὲν μεθ' ὅρκου ψεύδεται, ἐξώλειαν ἐπαρώμενος ἑαυτῷ, δεύτερον δέ, ἂ εὖ οἶδεν οὐδέποτε ἐσόμενα, τολμᾷ λέγειν ἀριθμῶν εἰς ὅπότ' ἔσται, καὶ ὦν τὰ σώματα οὐχ ἑώρακε, τούτων τὰ ὀνόματα λέγει, κλέπτων τὴν ἀκρόασιν καὶ μιμούμενος τοὺς τᾶληθῇ λέγοντας. Διὸ καὶ σφόδρα ἄξιός ἐστι μισεῖσθαι, ὅτι πονηρὸς ὦν καὶ τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν σημεία διαφθείρει.

Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν δίδωσιν ἀναγνῶναι ψήφισμα τῷ 100  
 γραμματεῖ μακρότερον μὲν τῆς Ἰλιάδος, κενότερον δὲ  
 τῶν λόγων οὓς εἶωθε λέγειν καὶ τοῦ βίου ὃν βεβίωκε,  
 68 μεστὸν δ' ἐλπίδων οὐκ ἐσομένων καὶ στρατοπέδων  
 οὐδέποτε συλλεγησομένων. Ἀπαγαγὼν δ' ὑμᾶς ἄπο-  
 θεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέμματος καὶ ἀνακρεμάσας ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἐλπίδων, ἐνταῦθα δὴ συστρέψας γράφει κελεύων  
 ἐλέσθαι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἑρέτριαν, οἵτινες δεήσονται  
 τῶν Ἑρετριέων (πάνυ γὰρ ἔδει δεηθῆναι), μηκέτι  
 διδόναι τὴν σύνταξιν ὑμῖν τὰ πέντε τάλαντα, ἀλλὰ  
 Καλλία, καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρους αἰρεῖσθαι εἰς Ὠρεὸν πρὸς  
 τοὺς Ὠρεΐτας πρέσβεις, οἵτινες δεήσονται τὸν αὐτὸν  
 Ἀθηναίοις φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν νομίζειν εἶναι. Ἔπειτα 101  
 ἀναφαίνεται περὶ ἀπάντων ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πρὸς  
 τῷ κλέμματι γράψας καὶ τὰ πέντε τάλαντα τοὺς  
 πρέσβεις ἀξιούν τοὺς Ὠρεΐτας μὴ ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ Καλλία

διδόναι. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῇ λέγω, ἀφελὼν τὸν κόμπον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀνάγνωθι καὶ τοῦ κλέμματος ἄψαι, ὃ ὑφείλετο ὁ μιαρὸς καὶ ἀνόσιος ἄνθρωπος, ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι διατελεῖν λεγοντα καὶ πράττοντα τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

102 Οὐκοῦν τὰς μὲν τριήρεις καὶ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὴν πανσέληνον καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους λόγῳ ἡκούσατε, τὰς δὲ συντάξεις τῶν συμμάχων, τὰ δέκα τάλαντα, ἔργῳ ἀπωλέσατε.

103 Ὑπόλοιπον δέ μοί ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι λαβὼν τρία τάλαντα μισθὸν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης, τάλαντον μὲν ἐκ Χαλκίδος παρὰ Καλλίου, τάλαντον δ' ἐξ Ἐρετρίας παρὰ Κλειτάρχου τοῦ τυράννου, τάλαντον δὲ ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ, διὸ καὶ καταφανὲς ἐγένετο, δημοκρατουμένων τῶν Ὀρειτῶν καὶ πάντα πραττόντων μετὰ ψηφίσματος. Ἐξανηλωμένοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμῳ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπόρως διακείμενοι πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Γνωσίδημον τὸν Χარიγένους υἱὸν τοῦ δυναστεύσαντός ποτε ἐν Ὀρεῷ, δεησόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τάλαντον ἀφεῖναι τῇ πόλει, ἐπαγγελούμενον δ' αὐτῷ χαλκὴν εἰκόνα σταθήσεσθαι ἐν Ὀρεῷ. 104 Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Γνωσιδήμῳ ὅτι ἐλαχίστου χαλκοῦ οὐδὲν δέοιτο, τὸ δὲ τάλαντον διὰ τοῦ Καλλίου εἰσπράττειν. Ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ὀρεῖται καὶ οὐκ εὐποροῦντες ὑπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ταλάντου τὰς δημοσίας προσ-

όδους, καὶ τόκον ἤνεγκαν Δημοσθένει τοῦ δωροδοκή-  
ματος δραχμὴν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς μνᾶς, ἕως τὸ κεφάλαιον  
ἀπέδωσαν. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη μετὰ ψηφίσματος τοῦ  
δήμου. Ὅτι δὲ τάλληθῇ λέγω, λάβε μοι τὸ ψήφισμα  
τῶν Ὀρειτῶν.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, αἱ- 105  
σχύνῃ μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἔλεγχος δὲ οὐ μικρὸς τῶν  
Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων, φανερὰ δὲ κατηγορία Κτη-  
σιφώντος· τὸν γὰρ οὕτως αἰσχυρῶς δωροδοκοῦντα οὐκ  
ἔστιν ἄνδρα γεγονέναι ἀγαθόν, ἃ τετόλμηκεν οὗτος  
γράψαι ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη τέτακται καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν καιρῶν, 106  
μᾶλλον δ' ὁ πάντων πικρότατος χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ Δημο-  
σθένης ἀπώλεσε τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς πόλεως  
πράξεις ἀσεβήσας μὲν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς,  
ἄδικον δὲ καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἴσην τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους συμ-  
μαχίαν γράψας. Ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς  
αὐτοῦ πλημμελημάτων λέγειν.

Ἔστι γάρ, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ Κιρῤῥαῖον ὠνο- 107  
μασμένον πεδίον καὶ λιμὴν ὁ νῦν ἐξάγιστος καὶ ἐπά-  
ρατος ὠνομασμένος. Ταύτην ποτὲ τὴν χώραν κατώ-  
κησαν Κιρῤῥαῖοι καὶ Ἀκραγαλλίδαι, γένη παρανομώ-  
τατα, οἱ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα  
ἡσέβουν, ἐξημάρτανον δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας.  
Αγανακτήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις μάλιστα μὲν,  
ὥς λέγονται, οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ ὑμέτεροι, ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ



ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες μαντεῖαν ἐμαντεύσαντο παρὰ τῷ  
 θεῷ, τίνι χρὴ τιμωρία τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους μετελ-  
 108 θεῖν. Καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖ ἡ Πυθία πολεμεῖν Κιρραίοις  
 καὶ Ἀκραγαλλίδαις πάντ' ἡμᾶτα καὶ πάσας νύκτας,  
 καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀν-  
 δραποδισαμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ  
 καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηναῖ Προνοίᾳ ἐπὶ 69  
 πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν μήτ' αὐτοὺς ἐρ-  
 γάζεσθαι μήτ' ἄλλον εἶναι.

Λαβόντες δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἐψη-  
 φίσαντο Σόλωνος εἰπόντος Ἀθηναίου τὴν γνώμην,  
 ἀνδρὸς καὶ νομοθετῆσαι δυνατοῦ καὶ περὶ ποίησιν  
 καὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατετριφότος, ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 109 ἐναγεῖς κατὰ τὴν μαντεῖαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ συναθροίσαν-  
 τες δύναμιν ἱκανὴν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξηνδραποδί-  
 σαντο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὸν λιμένα ἔχωσαν καὶ  
 τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν  
 καθιέρωσαν κατὰ τὴν μαντεῖαν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄρ-  
 κον ὤμοσαν ἰσχυρὸν μήτ' αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱερὰν γῆν ἐργά-  
 σεσθαι μήτ' ἄλλῳ ἐπιτρέψειν, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσειν τῷ  
 θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ πάσῃ  
 110 δυνάμει. Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς τούτου μόνον τὸν  
 ὄρκον ὁμόσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προστροπὴν καὶ ἄρὰν ἰσχυρὰν  
 ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐποιήσαντο. Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῇ  
 ἀρχῇ, εἴ τις τάδε φησὶ παραβαίνοι ἢ πόλις ἢ  
 ἰδιώτης ἢ ἔθνος, ἐναγῆς φησιν ἔστω τοῦ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λη-

τοῦς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Προνοίας. Καὶ ἐπεύχεται <sup>111</sup>  
αὐτοῖς μήτε γῆν καρποὺς φέρειν μήτε γυναῖκας τέκνα  
τίκτειν γονεῦσιν ἑοικότα, ἀλλὰ τέρατα, μήτε βοσκή-  
ματα κατὰ φύσιν γονὰς ποιεῖσθαι, ἦτταν δὲ αὐτοῖς  
εἶναι πολέμου καὶ δικῶν καὶ ἀγορῶν, καὶ ἐξώλεις  
εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκείνων. Καὶ  
μήποτε φησιν ὁσίως θύσαιεν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι  
μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μηδὲ τῇ Αἰγυπῶνι μηδ'  
Ἀθηνᾶ Προνοίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ  
ἱερά. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ <sup>112</sup>  
μαντείαν. Ἀκούσατε τῆς ἀρᾶς. Ἀναμνήσθητε τῶν  
ὄρκων, οὓς ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων  
συνώμοσαν.

## ΜΑΝΤΕΙΑ.

Οὐ πρὶν τῇσδε πόλης ἐρείψετε πύργον ἐλόντες,  
Πρὶν γε θεοῦ τεμένη κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης  
Κῦμα ποτικλύζῃ κελαδοῦν ἱεραῖσιν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς.

## ὍΡΚΟΙ. ΑΡΑ.

Ταύτης τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας <sup>113</sup>  
γενομένης, ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ  
Ἀμφισσεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῶν ἄνδρες  
παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πεδίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα  
τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον πάλιν ἐτείχισαν καὶ συνώ-  
κισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας ἐξελεγον, καὶ τῶν  
ἀφικνουμένων εἰς Δελφοὺς πυλαγόρων ἐνίους χρήμασι  
διέφθειραν, ὧν εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης. Χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ <sup>114</sup>  
ὑφ' ὑμῶν πυλαγόρας λαμβάνει χιλίας δραχμὰς παρὰ

τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνείαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι ποιήσασθαι. Διωμολογήθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Ἀθήναζε τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου μνᾶς εἴκοσι τῶν ἐξαγίστων καὶ ἐπαράτων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ᾧτε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεύσιν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον· ὅθεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ, ὅτου ἂν προσάφηται ἀνδρὸς ἢ ἰδιώτου ἢ δυνάστου ἢ πόλεως δημοκρατούμενης, τούτων ἐκάστους ἀνιάτοις κακοῖς περιβάλλειν.

- 115 Σκέψασθε δὴ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅσῳ περιεγένετο τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἀσεβείας. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Θεοφράστου ἄρχοντος, ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος Διογνήτου Ἀναφλυστίου, πυλαγόρους ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε Μειδίαν τε ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον (ὃν ἐβουλόμην ἂν πολλῶν ἕνεκα ζῆν), καὶ Θρασυκλέα τὸν ἐξ Οἴου, καὶ τρίτον δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ. Συνέβη δ' ἡμῖν ἀρτίως μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφίχθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα Διόγνητον πυρέττειν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο συμπεπτώκει
- 116 καὶ τῷ Μειδίᾳ. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συνεκάθηντο Ἀμφικτύονες. Ἐξηγγέλλετο δ' ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων τῶν εὐνοϊαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφισσείς ὑποπεπτωκότες τότε καὶ δεινῶς θεραπεύοντες τοὺς Θεβαίους εἰσέφερον δόγμα κατὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ζημιῶσαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθεμεν πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεὼν πρὶν ἐξεργάσθαι, καὶ ἐπεγράψαμεν τὸ προσῆκον ἐπίγραμμα Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θεβαίων



ὅτε τὰναντία τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐμάχοντο. Μεταπεμφάμενος δ' ἐμὲ ὁ ἱερομνήμων ἡξίου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω προηρημένον. Ἀρχομένου δέ μου λέγειν καὶ προθυμότερόν πως <sup>117</sup> εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν ἄλλων πυλαγόρων μεθεστηκότων, ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ἄνθρωπος ἀσελγέστατος καί, ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας μετεσχηκός, ἴσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν προαγομένου, ἀρχὴν δέ γε, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδ' ἂν ὠνομάζετε τοὔνομα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐναγεῖς ἐξείργετ' ἂν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Ἄμα δὲ <sup>118</sup> ἐμέμνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμμαχίας, ἣν ὁ Κρόβυλος ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως διεξήει λέγων, ἃ ἐγὼ οὔτε τότε ἐκαρτέρουν ἀκούων οὔτε νῦν ἡδέως μέμνημαι αὐτῶν.

Ἀκούσας δὲ οὕτω παρωξύνθην ὥς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι· ἐπῆλθε δ' οὖν μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην μνησθῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἐστηκὼς ἐδείκνυνον τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν (ὑπόκειται γὰρ τὸ Κιρράϊον πεδῖον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἔστιν εὐσύνοπτον). Ὁρᾶτ', ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ ἄν- <sup>119</sup>δρες Ἀμφικτύονες, ἐξειργασμένον τουτὶ τὸ πεδῖον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων καὶ κεραμεῖα

ἐνφοδομημένα καὶ αὐλῖα· ὁρᾶτε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον λιμένα τετειχισμένον· ἴστε τούτους αὐτοί (καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτέρων δεῖσθε μαρτύρων), τέλη πεπραχότας καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λιμένος. Ἄμα δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἐκέλευον αὐτοῖς τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν ὅρκον τῶν προγόνων, τὴν ἄρὰν τὴν γενομένην, καὶ διωριζόμεν ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ οἰκίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ βοηθῶ κατὰ τὸν ὅρκον καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς δύναμαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀφοσιῶ· ὑμεῖς δ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἤδη βουλεύεσθε. Ἐνήρκται μὲν τὰ κανᾶ, παρέστηκε δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς τὰ θύματα, μέλλετε δ' αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς τὰγαθὰ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ.

121 Σκοπεῖτε δὴ ποία φωνῇ, ποία ψυχῇ, ποίοις ὄμμασι, τίνα τόλμαν κτησάμενοι τὰς ἱκεσίας ποιήσεσθε, τούτους παρέντες ἀτιμωρήτους τοὺς ἐναγεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀραῖς ἐνόχους. Οὐ γὰρ δι' αἰνιγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐναργῶς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ κατὰ τε τῶν ἀσεβησάντων, ἃ χρὴ παθεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρεψάντων, καὶ τελευταῖον ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ γέγραπται, μηδ' ὁσίως θύσαιεν οἱ μὴ τιμωροῦντες, φησί, τῷ Ἀπόλ-

λωνι μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μηδὲ τῇ Λητοῖ μηδ'  
Ἀθηνᾶ Προνοίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτῶν τὰ  
ἱερά.

Τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ διεξελθόν-<sup>12</sup>  
τος ἐμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ποτε ἀπηλλάγην καὶ μετέστην ἐκ  
τοῦ συνεδρίου, κραυγὴ πολλὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν  
Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν ἀσπί-  
δων ἃς ἡμεῖς ἀνέθεμεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀμ-  
φισσέων τιμωρίας. Ἦδη δὲ πόρρῳ τῆς ἡμέρας  
οὔσης προσελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ ἀνεῖπε, Δελφῶν ὅσοι ἐπὶ  
διετὲς ἠβῶσι, καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ἤκειν ἅμα  
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔχοντας ἅμα καὶ δικέλλας πρὸς τὸ θυτεῖον  
ἐκεῖ καλούμενον· καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς κήρυξ ἀνηγόρευε  
τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας καὶ πυλαγόρους ἤκειν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν  
τόπον βοηθήσοντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ· ἥτις  
δ' ἂν μὴ παρῇ πόλις, εἴρξεται τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ  
ἐναγῆς ἔσται καὶ τῇ ἀρᾷ ἔνοχος. Τῇ δὲ ὥστε-<sup>123</sup>  
ραῖα ἤκομεν ἔωθεν εἰς τὸν προειρημένον τόπον, καὶ  
κατέβημεν εἰς τὸ Κιρράϊον πεδῖον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα  
κατασκάψαντες καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσαντες ἀνεχω-  
ροῦμεν. Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῶν πραττόντων οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ  
Ἀμφισσείς, ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἄποθεν οἰκοῦντες Δελ-  
φῶν, ἦκον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μεθ' ὅπλων πανδημεῖ· καὶ εἰ μὴ  
δρόμῳ μόλις ἐξεφύγομεν εἰς Δελφούς, ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν  
ἂν ἀπολέσθαι. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Κόττυφος ὁ<sup>124</sup>  
τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει τῶν Ἀμ-  
φικτυόνων (ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν τις μὴ



μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας συγκα-  
λέσῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ  
θεῷ). Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη πολλαὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀμφισσέων  
ἐγίγνοντο κατηγορίαι, πολλὺς δ' ἔπαινος ἦν κατὰ τῆς  
ημετέρας πόλεως· τέλος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου ψηφί-  
ζονται ἡκεῖν τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης  
πυλαίας ἐν ῥήτῳ χρόνῳ εἰς Πύλας, ἔχοντας δόγμα  
καθ' ὃ τι δίκην δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν  
εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμ-  
φικτύοντας ἐξήμαρτον. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνα-  
γνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 125 Τοῦ δόγματος οὖν τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν  
τῇ βουλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ  
τὰς πράξεις ἡμῶν ἀποδεξαμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς  
πόλεως πάσης προαιρουμένης εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ Δημο-  
σθένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης  
ἀντιλέγοντος καὶ ἐμοῦ φανερώς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἐξε-  
λέγχοντος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἄνθρω-  
πος οὐκ ἡδύνατο σφῆλαι, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτή-  
ριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐκφέρεται προ-  
βούλευμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ  
126 γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ  
ἐκκλησίᾳ διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι  
δήμου ψήφισμα ἤδη ἐπαναστάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας,  
ἀπεληλυθότος ἐμοῦ (οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε ἐπέτρεψα) καὶ  
τῶν πολλῶν διαφειμένων· οὗ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι

τὸν δὲ ἱερομνήμονα, φησί, τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφούς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων, εὐπρεπῶς γε τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσχρῶς· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν σύλλογον τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἀπαντᾶν, ὃς ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἔμελλε χρόνου γίγνεσθαι. Καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι <sup>127</sup> πολὺ καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον σύγγραμμα γράφει, τὸν ἱερομνήμονα, φησί, τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας μὴ μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε συλλεγομένοις μήτε λόγων μήτε ἔργων μήτε δογμάτων μήτε πράξεως μηδεμιᾶς. Τὸ δὲ μὴ μετέχειν τί ἐστι; — Πότερα τάληθες εἶπω ἢ τὸ ἥδιστον ἀκούσαι; Τάληθες ἐρῶ· τὸ γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον οὕτωςι τὴν πόλιν διατέθεικεν. — Οὐκ ἐᾷ μεμνήσθαι τῶν ὄρκων, οὓς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ὤμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀράς οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατεμείναμεν <sup>128</sup> διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες συνελέγησαν εἰς Πύλας πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἧς ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἂν τοῦνομα εἴποιμι, μήθ' αἱ συμφοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γένοιντο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Καὶ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας, καὶ στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν τότε τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζοντα, οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν

Μακεδονία Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόν-  
 τος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος· ὃν αὐτίκα  
 μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημοσθένης ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 129 Ἕλληνας ἐπήγαγον. Καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ  
 στρατείᾳ καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισ-  
 σεύσιν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν 72  
 αὐτοὺς ἐξημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ προεῖπον  
 τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναγεῖς καὶ τῶν πε-  
 πραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ δι' εὐσεβείαν  
 φυγόντας κατήγαγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτε τὰ χρήματα  
 ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς τ' ἐναγεῖς κατήγαγον καὶ τοὺς  
 εὐσεβεῖς κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξέβαλον,  
 οὕτως ἤδη τὴν δευτέραν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας στρατείαν  
 ἐποίησαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον, ἐπανεληλυθότος  
 Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν  
 μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδε-  
 δωκότων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκίας ἐμποδὼν  
 γεγεννημένης.

130 Ἄλλ' οὐ προὔλεγον, οὐ προεσήμαινον ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ  
 φυλάξασθαι, μόνον γε οὐκ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς προσ-  
 κτησάμενοι; Οὐδεμίαν τοι πώποτε ἔγωγε μᾶλλον  
 πόλιν ἐώρακα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν σωζομένην, ὑπὸ δὲ  
 τῶν ῥητόρων ἐνίων ἀπολλυμένην. Οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἦν τὸ  
 τοῖς μυστηρίοις φανέν σημεῖον φυλάξασθαι, ἢ τῶν  
 μυστῶν τελευτή; Οὐ περὶ τούτων Ἀμεινιάδης μὲν  
 προὔλεγεν εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπε-  
 ρησομένους τὸν θεὸν ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν, Δημοσθένης



δὲ ἀντέλεγε φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων, ἀπαί-  
 δευτος ὢν καὶ ἀπολαύων καὶ ἐμπιπλάμενος τῆς διδο-  
 μένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίας ; Οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον 131  
 ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξέπεμψε  
 τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον ; Καίτοι  
 γε πρῶην ἀπετόλμησε λέγειν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦτο Φίλιπ-  
 πος οὐκ ἦλθεν ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ  
 καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. Τίνος οὖν εἰ σὺ ζημίας ἄξιος τυχεῖν,  
 ὦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε ; Εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κρατῶν  
 οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν κρατουμένων χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά, σὺ δ' οὐδὲν προειδὼς τῶν  
 μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι πρὶν καλλιερῆσαι τοὺς στρατιώ-  
 τας ἐξέπεμψας, πότερα στεφανοῦσθαί σε δεῖ ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίαις ἢ ὑπερωρίσθαι ;

Τοιγάρτοι τί τῶν ἀνελπίστων καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτων 132  
 ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐ γέγονεν ; Οὐ γὰρ βίον γε ἡμεῖς ἀν-  
 θρώπινον βεβιώκαμεν, ἀλλ' εἰς παραδοξολογίαν τοῖς  
 ἐσομένοις μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφυμεν. Οὐχ ὁ μὲν τῶν Περ-  
 σῶν βασιλεύς, ὁ τὸν Ἀθῶν διορύξας, ὁ τὸν Ἑλλήσ-  
 ποντον ζεύξας, ὁ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἰτῶν,  
 ὁ τολμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφειν ὅτι δεσπότης  
 ἐστὶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνιόντος μεχρι  
 δυομένου, νῦν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κύριος ἐτέρων εἶναι διαγω-  
 νίζεται, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας ;  
 Καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶμεν τῆς τε δόξης ταύτης καὶ τῆς  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην ἡγεμονίας ἡξιωμένους, οἳ καὶ τὸ ἐν  
 Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν ἡλευθέρωσαν ; Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι, πό- 133

λισ ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλ-  
 λάδος ἀνῆρπασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν ὅλων οὐκ  
 ὀρθῶς βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε θεοβλάβειαν καὶ  
 τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως κτη-  
 σάμενοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οἱ ταλαίπωροι, προσαψά-  
 μενοι μόνον τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ  
 τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν, οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ  
 ἀξιοῦντες ἡγεμόνες εἶναι, νῦν ὀμηρεύσונτες καὶ τῆς  
 συμφορᾶς ἐπιδείξιν ποιησόμενοι μέλλουσιν ὥς Ἀλέ-  
 ξανδρον ἀναπέμπεσθαι, τοῦτο πεισόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ  
 ἡ πατρίς ὃ τι ἂν ἐκείνῳ δόξῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦν-  
 134 τος καὶ προηδικημένου μετριοτήτι κριθησόμενοι. Ἡ δ'  
 ἡμετέρα πόλις, ἡ κοινὴ καταφυγὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πρὸς  
 ἣν ἀφικνοῦντο πρότερον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἱ πρεσβεῖαι,  
 κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν εὐρη-  
 σόμενοι, νῦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας  
 ἀγωνίζεται, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους.  
 Καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐξ ὅτου Δημοσθένης πρὸς  
 τὴν πολιτείαν προσελήλυθεν. Εὖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν τοι-  
 ούτων Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητὴς ἀποφαίνεται. Λέγει γάρ  
 που, παιδεύων τὰ πλήθη καὶ συμβουλεύων ταῖς πόλεσι  
 τοὺς πονηροὺς τῶν δημαγωγῶν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι. 73  
 135 Λέξω δὲ καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἔπη· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι ἡμᾶς  
 παῖδας ὄντας τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν γνώμας ἐκμανθάνειν,  
 ἵν' ἄνδρες ὄντες αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα.

Πολλάκι δὴ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα,  
 Ὃς κεν ἀλιτραίνει καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μητιάται.

Τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγα πῆμα δῶκε Κρονίων,  
Λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν, ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·

Ἡ τῶν γε στρατὸν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν ἢ ὃ γε τείχος,

Ἡ νῆας ἐνὶ πόντῳ τίννυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς.

Ἐὰν δὲ περιελόντες τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὸ μέτρον τὰς 136  
γνώμας ἐξετάζητε, οἶμαι ὑμῖν δόξειν οὐ ποιήματα  
Ἑσιόδου εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χρησμὸν εἰς τὴν Δημοσθένους  
πολιτείαν· καὶ γὰρ ναυτικὴ καὶ πεζὴ στρατιὰ καὶ  
πόλεις ἄρδην εἰσὶν ἀνηρπασμένοι ἐκ τῆς τούτου πο-  
λιτείας.

Ἄλλ' οἶμαι, οὔτε Φρυγῶνδας οὔτε Εὐρύβατος οὔτ' 137  
ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος  
μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, ὃς, ὦ γῇ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαί-  
μονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι ὅσοι βούλεσθε ἀκούειν τάληθῇ,  
τολμᾷ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα,  
ὥς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμῖν ἐποιήσαντο οὐ  
διὰ τὸν καιρόν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάντα  
αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς  
Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας. Καίτοι πολλὰς μὲν τούτου 138  
πρότερον πρεσβείας ἐπρέσβενσαν εἰς Θήβας οἱ μάλ-  
ιστα οἰκείως ἐκείνοις διακείμενοι, πρῶτος μὲν Θρα-  
σύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐν Θήβαις πιστευθεὶς  
ὥς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος, πάλιν Θράσων ὁ Ἐρχιεύς, πρόξενος  
ὢν Θηβαίοις, Λεωδάμας ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς, οὐχ ἥττον Δη-  
μοσθένους λέγειν δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡδίων,  
Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Πήληξ, καὶ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πολλὰ 139  
κεκινδυνευκῶς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους, Ἀριστο-



φῶν ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς, πλείστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ βοιωτιάζειν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν, Πύρρῳ ἀνδρὸς ὁ Ἀναφλύστιος, ὃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ζῇ. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοὺς ἐδυνήθη προτρέψασθαι εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλίαν. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον οἶδα μὲν, λέγειν δ' οὐδὲν δέομαι διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας αὐτῶν. Ἀλλ' οἶμαι, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος Νίκαιαν Θετταλοῖς παρέδωκε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὃν πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς τῶν Βοιωτῶν, τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχαράκωσε καὶ φρουρὰν εἰσήγαγεν, ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη, ἐπεὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῶν ἤπτετο, μετεπέμψαντο Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξήλθετε καὶ εἰσῆγείτε εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διεσκευασμένοι, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς, πρὶν περὶ συμμαχίας μίαν 141 μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην. Ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεῖα συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ περὶ γε ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τρία τὰ πάντων μέγιστα Δημοσθένης εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκε.

Πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Φιλίππου τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι πολεμοῦντος ὑμῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῦντος Θηβαίους, ὥς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε (καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν;) ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἀπεκρύψατο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν συμμαχίαν γενήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιροὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ 142 τὰς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον

μηκέτι βουλευέσθαι ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιήσασθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν μόνον εἰ γίγνεται, τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν ἔκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίοις, γράψας ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, εἰάν τις ἀφιστῆται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς ὀνόμασι κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα, ὥσπερ 74 εἴωθεν, ὡς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς πεπόνθεσαν ἀγανακτῆσοντας· δεύτερον δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων 143 τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν, οἷς ἦσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις, δωροδοκῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τούτων, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐποίησε κοινήν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα ἴδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν (εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν) ἄρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, ὥστε παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατοκλέα τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγὸν βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. Καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ, ἕτεροι δὲ παραλεί- 144 πουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ λέγω καὶ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε καὶ οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε. Ἐκείνο γὰρ πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην· συνείθισθε ἤδη τὰ δίκαια αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν, ὥστε οὐ θαυμάζετε. Δεῖ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, εἰ χρὴ τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς ἔχειν.

Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ πολὺν τούτου μείζον ἀδίκημα ἡδὲ- 145

κησεν, ὅτι τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἄρδην ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος καὶ μετήνεγκεν εἰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν Καδμείαν, τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πράξεων τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις συνθέμενος· καὶ τηλικαύτην αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δυναστείαν κατεσκεύασεν, ὥστ' ἤδη παριῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πρεσβεύσειν μὲν ἔφη ὅποι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ,

146 καὶ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἐκπέμπητε, εἰ δέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντίποι, καταδουλούμενος τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ συνεθίζων μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν διαδικασίαν ἔφη γράψειν τῷ βήματι πρὸς τὸ στρατηγεῖον· πλείω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔφη ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πεπονθέναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγείου. Μισθοφορῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ξενικῷ κεναῖς χώραις, καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα κλέπτων, καὶ τοὺς μυρίους ξένους ἐκμισθώσας Ἀμφισσεῦσι πολλὰ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ σχετλιάζοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐμοῦ, προσέμιξε φέρων ἀναρπασθέντων τῶν ξένων τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπα-

147 ρασκεύῃ τῇ πόλει. Τί γὰρ ἂν οἴεσθε Φίλιππον ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς εὐξασθαι; Οὐ χωρὶς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν, χωρὶς δ' ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους διαγωνίσασθαι, ἀθύμους δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας λαβεῖν τηλικαύτης πληγῆς γεγενημένης; Καὶ τηλικούτων κακῶν αἴτιος γεγενημένος Δημοσθένης οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ εἰ μὴ δίκην δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στέφανωθήσεται ἀγανακτεῖ· οὐδ' ἱκανόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν κηρύττεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναντίον ἀναρρήθήσεται, τοῦτ' ἤδη ἀγανακτεῖ. Οὕτως,



ὥς ἔοικε, πονηρὰ φύσις μεγάλης ἐξουσίας ἐπιλαβομένη δημοσίας ἀπεργάζεται συμφοράς.

Τρίτον δὲ καὶ τῶν προειρημένων μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὃ <sup>143</sup> μέλλω λέγειν. Φιλίππου γὰρ οὐ καταφρονούντος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδ' ἀγνοούντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσύνητος), ὅτι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἡμέρας σμικρῷ μέρει διαγωνιέται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα βουλομένου ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρεσβείας ἀποστέλλειν μέλλοντος, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐν Θήβαις φοβουμένων τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον, εἰκότως, — οὐ γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἀστράτευτος καὶ λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν αὐτοὺς ἐνουθέτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος δεκαετῆς γεγωνὺς ἀείμνηστον παιδείαν αὐτοὺς ἐπαίδευσεν, — τούτων δὲ ἔχόντων οὕτως αἰσθό- <sup>149</sup> μενος Δημοσθένης, καὶ τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας ὑποπτεύσας μέλλειν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιείσθαι χρυσίον ἄνευ αὐτοῦ παρὰ Φιλίππου λαβόντας, ἀβίωτον ἡγησάμενος εἶναι εἴ τινος ἀπολειφθήσεται δωροδοκίας, ἀναπηδήσας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων λέγοντος οὐθ' ὥς δεῖ ποιείσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην οὐθ' ὥς οὐ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔρετο, τοῦτο κήρυγμά τι τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις προκηρύττων ἀναφέρειν ἑαυτῷ τὰ μέρη τῶν λημμάτων, διώ- <sup>75</sup> μνυτο τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, ἣν, ὥς ἔοικε, Φειδίας ἐνεργολαβεῖν <sup>150</sup> εἰργάσατο καὶ ἐνεπιорκεῖν Δημοσθένει, ἥ μὲν εἴ τις ἐρεῖ ὥς χρὴ πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι ἀπάξιεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπομιμούμενος τὴν Κλεοφώντος πολιτείαν, ὃς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου, ὥς λέγεται, τὴν πόλιν

ἀπώλεσεν. Ὡς δ' οὐ προσεΐχον αὐτῷ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ὑμετέρους πάλιν ἀνέστρεψαν ἐξεληλυθότας, ἵνα βουλευσῆσθε περὶ  
 151 τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη παντάπασιν ἔκφρων ἐγένετο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προδότας τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας ἀπεκάλεσε, καὶ γράφειν ἔφη ψήφισμα ὁ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδέποτε ἀντιβλέψας πέμπειν ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας αἰτήσοντας Θηβαίους δίοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. Ὑπεραισχυθέντες δὲ οἱ ἐν Θήβαις ἄρχοντες μὴ δόξωσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι προδόται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπετράποντο, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν ὥρμησαν.

152 Ἐνθα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οὓς οὗτος ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερέτων ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον ἐτόλμησε, τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι τὴν τάξιν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τὸν τῶν τελευτησάντων, ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν. Ὡς πρὸς μὲν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ σπουδαῖα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατε, ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐβελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα, βλέπων εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα, λέγειν ὡς δεῖ σε ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς στεφανοῦσθαι; Ἐὰν δ' οὗτος λέγῃ, ὑμεῖς ὑπομενεῖτε, καὶ συναποθανεῖται τοῖς τελευτήσασι, ὡς  
 153 ἔοικε, καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα μνήμη; Γένεσθε δὴ μοι μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὁρᾶν προϋόντα τὸν κήρυκα καὶ

τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀνάρρῃσιν μέλλονσαν γίγνεσθαι, καὶ λογίσασθε πότερ' οἴεσθε τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν τελευτησάντων πλείω δάκρυα ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τραγωδίαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡρωϊκοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπεισιούσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσύνῃ. Τίς γὰρ <sup>154</sup> οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειεν ἄνθρωπος Ἑλλῆν καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐλευθέρως, ἀναμνησθεὶς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐκείνῳ γε, εἰ μὴδὲν ἕτερον, ὅτι ταύτῃ ποτὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μελλόντων ὥσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγωδῶν γίγνεσθαι, ὅτ' εὐνομεῖτο μᾶλλον ἢ πόλις καὶ βελτίοσι προστάταις ἐχρήτο, προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότες, νεανίσκους πανοπλία κεκοσμημένους, ἐκήρυττε τὸ κάλλιστον κήρυγμα καὶ προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὅτι τούσδε τοὺς νεανίσκους, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν ἡβῆς ὁ δῆμος ἔτρεφε, νυνὶ δὲ καθοπλίσας τῇδε τῇ πανοπλίᾳ ἀφήσειν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ καλεῖ εἰς προεδρίαν.

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκήρυττεν, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ παρα- <sup>155</sup> στησάμενος τὸν τῆς ὀρφανίας τοῖς παισὶν αἴτιον τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ ἢ τί φθέγγεται; Καὶ γὰρ εἰν αὐτὰ διεξίῃ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος προστάγματα, ἀλλ' οὐ τό γ' ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχροὺν σιωπηθήσεται, ἀλλὰ τὰναντία δόξει τῇ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῇ φθέγγεσθαι, ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα (εἰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ) στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τὸν κάκιστον, ἀνδραγαθίας



157 ἔνεκα τὸν ἄνανδρον καὶ λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν. Μὴ  
 πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἵκετεύω ὑμᾶς, ὦ  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τρόπαιον ἴστατε ἀφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν  
 ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου ὀρχήστρᾳ, μηδ' αἰρεῖτε παρανοίας  
 ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων,  
 μηδ' ὑπομιμνήσκετε τῶν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀνηκέστων κα-  
 κῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους, οὓς φυγόντας διὰ  
 τοῦτον ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει, ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ  
 τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ  
 157 βασιλικὸν χρυσίον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ 76  
 παρεγένεσθε, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανοαῖς ἀποβλέψατ' αὐ-  
 τῶν εἰς τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὄραν ἀλίσκομένην  
 τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφάς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγο-  
 μένας γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας  
 ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβύτιδας γυναῖκας ὧς μεταμανθάνον-  
 τας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἵκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὀρ-  
 γιζομένους οὐ τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων  
 αἰτίοις, ἐπισκῆπτοντας μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 ἀλιτῆριον στεφανοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν  
 τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλά-  
 158 ξασθαι. Οὔτε γὰρ πόλις οὔτ' ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης οὐδεὶς  
 πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρη-  
 σάμενος. Ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ αἰσχύ-  
 νεσθε εἰ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πορθμέας τοὺς εἰς Σαλαμίνα  
 πορθμεύοντας νόμον ἔθεσθε, εἰάν τις αὐτῶν ἄκων ἐν  
 τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, τούτῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι πάλιν  
 πορθμεῖ γενέσθαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ εἰς τὰ

τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματα, τὸν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνατέτραφóta τοῦτον ἐάσετε πάλιν ἀπευθύνειν τὰ κοινά;

Ἵνα δ' εἴπω καὶ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου καιροῦ καὶ τῶν 159  
 νυνὶ καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων, ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσαι  
 βούλομαι, ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου  
 μόνον τάξιν ἔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως,  
 τριήρη προσλαβὼν ὑμῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἡργυρο-  
 λόγησε. Καταγαγούσης δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς  
 ἀπροσδοκίτου σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους  
 ὑπότρομος ἦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ παριῶν ἡμιθνης ἐπὶ τὸ  
 βῆμα εἰρηνοφύλακα ὑμᾶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν.  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ  
 ψηφίσματα εἰᾶτε τὸ Δημοσθένους ἐπιγράφειν ὄνομα,  
 ἀλλὰ Ναυσικλεῖ τοῦτο προσετάττετε· νυνὶ δ' ἤδη καὶ  
 στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοί. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐτελεύτησε μὲν Φί- 160  
 λιππος, Ἀλέξανδρος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστη, πάλιν  
 αὖ τερατευόμενος ἱερὰ μὲν ἰδρύσατο Πausανίου, εἰς  
 αἰτίαν δὲ εὐαγγελίων θυσίας τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησεν,  
 ἐπωνυμίαν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μαργίτην ἐτίθετο, ἀπε-  
 τόλμα δὲ λέγειν ὥς οὐ κινηθήσεται ἐκ Μακεδονίας·  
 ἀγαπᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν Πέλλῃ περιπατοῦντα καὶ  
 τὰ σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔφη  
 οὐκ εἰκάζων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι αἷματός ἐστιν ἡ  
 ἀρετὴ ὦνία, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχων αἷμα καὶ θεωρῶν τὸν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ  
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίας.

- 161 Ἦδη δ' ἐψηφισμένων Θετταλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν, καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ πρῶτον παροξυνθέντος εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρεσβευτῆς ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθείς, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος ἤκεν ὑποστρέψας, οὗτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὗτ' ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχων. Καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε, οὐδ' εἰάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ, οὗτος δ' ὑμᾶς νῦν προδέδωκεν, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ ἔστιν ἃ
- 162 λέγεται. Ὡς γάρ φασιν οἱ πάραλοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰκότως πιστεύεται), ἔστι τις Ἀριστίων Πλαταϊκός, ὁ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ φαρμακοπώλου υἱός, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ὑμῶν γιγνώσκει. Οὗτός ποτε ὁ νεανίσκος ἐτέρων τὴν ὄψιν διαφέρων γενόμενος ᾤκησε πολλὸν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Δημοσθένους οἰκίᾳ· ὅ τι δὲ πράττων ἢ πάσχων, ἀμφίβολος ἢ αἰτία καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμῶς εὐσχημον ἐμοὶ λέγειν. Οὗτος, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, ἡγνοημένος ὅστις ποτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πῶς βεβιωκώς, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποτρέχει καὶ πλησιάζει ἐκείνῳ. Διὰ τούτου γράμματα πέμψας ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον ἄδειάν τινα εὔρηται καὶ δια-
- 163 λαγὰς καὶ πολλὴν κολακείαν πεποιήται. Ἐκείθεν δὲ θεωρήσατε ὡς ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ αἰτίᾳ. Εἰ γάρ τι τούτων ἐφρόνει Δημοσθένης καὶ πολεμικῶς εἶχεν, ὥσπερ καὶ φησί, πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, τρεῖς αὐτῷ καιροὶ κάλλιστοι παραγεγόνασιν, ὧν οὐδενὶ φαίνεται 77 κεχρημένος. Εἰς μὲν ὁ πρῶτος, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ



πάλαι καθεστηκὼς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκατασκεύων αὐτῷ  
 τῶν ἰδίων ὄντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη, ἤκμαζε δ' ὁ  
 τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ  
 πεζῇ στρατιᾷ, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν  
 προσεδέξατο διὰ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους ἑαυτῷ κινδύνους.  
 Εἰπὰς τινα ἐνταῦθα λόγον, Δημόσθενης, ἢ ἔγραψάς  
 τι ψήφισμα; Βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι καὶ χρήσα-  
 σθαι τῷ σαυτοῦ τρόπῳ; Καίτοι ῥητορικὴν δειλίαν  
 δημόσιος καιρὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάσῃ <sup>161</sup>  
 τῇ δυνάμει Δαρείος καταβεβήκει, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν  
 ἀπειλημμένος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πάντων ἐνδεής, ὡς ἔφησθα  
 σύ, αὐτίκα δὲ μάλα ἤμελλεν, ὡς ἦν ὁ παρὰ σοῦ λόγος,  
 συμπατηθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου, τὴν δὲ  
 σὴν ἀηδίαν ἢ πόλιν οὐκ ἐχώρει καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς  
 αὐς ἐξηρτημένος ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων περιήεις, ἐπιδεικνύων  
 τισὶ τὸ ἑμὸν πρόσωπον ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένου καὶ ἀθυ-  
 μούντος, καὶ χρυσόκερων ἀποκαλῶν καὶ κατεστέφθαι  
 φάσκων εἴ τι πταῖσμα συμβήσεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐδ'  
 ἐνταῦθα ἔπραξας οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἷς τινα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλ-  
 λου καλλίω.

Ὑπερβὰς τοίνυν ἅπαντα ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν νυνὶ καθε- <sup>165</sup>  
 στηκότων λέξω. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν  
 ἐπέτυχον μάχῃ καὶ διέφθειραν τοὺς περὶ Κόρραγον  
 στρατιώτας, Ἡλεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς συμμετεβάλλοντο καὶ  
 Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες πλὴν Πελληναίων καὶ Ἀρκαδία πᾶσα  
 πλὴν Μεγάλης πόλεως, αὕτη δὲ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ καθ'  
 ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλῶναι, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος

ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης  
 μεθειστήκει, ὃ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος πολὺν χρόνον συνήγε  
 στρατόπεδον, τὸ δ' ἐσόμενον ἄδηλον ἦν. Ἐνταῦθ'  
 ἡμῖν ἀπόδειξιν ποίησαι, ὃ Δημόσθενες, τί ποτ' ἦν ἂ  
 ἔπραξας καὶ τί ποτ' ἦν ἂ ἔλεγες· καὶ εἰ βούλει, πα-  
 166 ραχωρῶ σοι τοῦ βήματος, ἕως ἂν εἴπῃς. Ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ σιγᾶς, ὅτι μὲν ἀπορεῖς, συγγνώμην ἔχω σοι, ἂ δὲ  
 τότ' ἔλεγες, ἐγὼ νυνὶ λέξω. Οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ  
 μιὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἂ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς, ὃ σιδή-  
 ρεοι, ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι; "Οτ' ἔφη παρελθὼν  
 ἀμπελουργοῦσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμή-  
 κασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέ-  
 τμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμορ-  
 ραφούμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, τινὲς πρῶτον  
 167 ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι. Ταῦτα δὲ τί  
 ἐστίν, ὃ κίναδος; Ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; Καὶ πάλιν  
 ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδινὼν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες  
 ὡς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὁμολογῶ τὰ Λακω-  
 νικὰ συστήσαι, ὁμολογῶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ  
 Πεῖραιβοὺς ἀφιστάναι. Σὺ γὰρ ἂν κώμην  
 ἀποστήσας; Σὺ γὰρ ἂν προσέλθοις μὴ ὅτι πρὸς  
 πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς οἰκίαν ὅπου κίνδυνος πρόσεστιν;  
 Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν που χρήματα ἀναλίσκεται, προσκαθιζή-  
 σει, πρᾶξιν δὲ ἀνδρὸς οὐ πράξεις· ἐὰν δ' αὐτόματόν  
 τι συμβῇ, προσποιήσῃ καὶ σαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον  
 ἐπιγράψῃς· ἂν δ' ἔλθῃ φόβος τις, ἀποδράσῃ· ἐὰν  
 δὲ θαρρήσωμεν, δωρεὰς αἰτήσεις καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις  
 στεφανοῦσθαι.

Ναί, ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἐστίν. Ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς 163  
τὴν εὐφημίαν αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀποβλέπητε, ἔξαπα-  
τηθήσεσθε ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐὰν δ' εἰς τὴν φύσιν  
καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἔξαπατηθήσεσθε. Ἐκείνως δὲ  
ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. Ἐγὼ μὲν μεθ'  
ὑμῶν λογιούμαι ἃ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῷ δημο-  
τικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω ποῖόν  
τινα εἰκός ἐστίν εἶναι τὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ  
φαῦλον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀντιθέντες ἐκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατ'  
αὐτόν, μὴ ὁποτέρου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ὁποτέρου τοῦ βίου  
ἐστίν. Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἅπαντας ἂν ὑμᾶς ὁμολογήσαι 169  
τάδε δεῖν ὑπάρξαι τῷ δημοτικῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύθερον  
αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρός καὶ πρὸς μητρός, ἵνα μὴ  
78 διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀτυχίαν δυσμενῆς ἢ τοῖς νόμοις  
οἱ σώζουσι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, δεύτερον δ' ἀπὸ τῶν προ-  
γόνων εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρχειν,  
ἢ τό γ' ἀναγκαιότατον μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν, ἵνα μὴ βοη-  
θῶν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι κακῶς ἐπιχειρῇ  
ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν. Τρίτον σώφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρή 170  
πεφυκέναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν, ὅπως  
μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῆς δαπάνης δωροδοκῇ κατὰ  
τοῦ δήμου, τέταρτον εὐγνώμονα καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν·  
καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλ-  
τιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον  
πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας· εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν γ' εὐγνωμο-  
σύνην ἀεὶ προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου. Πέμπτον ἀνδρεῖον  
εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς κιν-



δύνους ἐγκαταλίπη τὸν δῆμον. Τὸν δ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν πάντα δεῖ τάναντία τούτων ἔχειν· τί γὰρ δεῖ πάλιν διεξιέναι; Σκέψασθε δὴ τί τούτων ὑπάρχει Δημοσθένει· ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις.

- 171 Τούτῳ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐλεύθερος (οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι), τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πῶς ἔχει αὐτῷ; Ἐγὼ φράσω. Πύλων ἦν ἐκ Κεραμέων. Οὗτος προδούς τοῖς πολεμίοις Νύμφαιον τὸ ἐν Πόντῳ, τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, φυγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο θανάτου καταγνωσθέντος αὐτοῦ, τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Βόσπορον, κακεῖ λαμβάνει δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν τυράν-
- 172 νων τοὺς ὠνομασμένους Κήπους, καὶ γαμεῖ γυναῖκα πλουσίαν μὲν νῆ Δία καὶ χρυσίον ἐπιφερομένην πολύ, Σκύθιν δὲ τὸ γένος, ἐξ ἧς γίγνονται αὐτῷ θυγατέρες δύο, αἷς ἐκεῖνος δεῦρο μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποστείλας συνώκισε τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ὁτῷδήποτε, ἵνα μὴ πολλοῖς ἀπεχθάνωμαι· τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἔγημε παριδὼν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἐξ ἧς ὑμῖν ὁ περίεργος καὶ συκοφάντης γεγένηται Δημοσθένης. Οὐκοῦν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πολέμιος ἂν εἴη τῷ δήμῳ (θάνατον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προγόνων κατέγνωτε), τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκύθης, βάρβαρος ἑλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν
- 173 οὐκ ἐπιχώριός ἐστι. Περὶ δὲ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν τίς ἐστιν; Ἐκ τριηράρχου λογογράφος ἀνεφάνη, τὰ

πατρῶα καταγελάστως προέμενος · ἄπιστος δὲ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα δόξας εἶναι καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐκφέρων τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα · πλείστον δ' ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας εἰληφὼς ἀργύριον ἐλάχιστα περιεποιήσατο. Νῦν μέντοι τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἐπικέκλυκε τὴν δαπάνην αὐτοῦ, ἔσται δ' οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἱκανόν · οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποτε πλοῦτος τρόπου πονηροῦ περιεγένετο. Καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸν βίον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων πορίζεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων κινδύνων.

Περὶ δ' εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ λόγου δύναμιν πῶς πέ- 174  
φυκε; Δεινῶς λέγειν, κακῶς βιῶναι. Οὕτω γὰρ κέχρηται καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι καὶ παιδοποιία ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι λέγειν ἅ τούτῳ πέπρακται · ἤδη γάρ ποτε εἶδον μισηθέντας τοὺς τὰ τῶν πλησίον αἰσχυρὰ λίαν σαφῶς λέγοντας. Ἐπειτὰ τί συμβαίνει τῇ πόλει; Οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλοί, τὰ δ' ἔργα φαῦλα. Πρὸς δὲ ἀνδρίαν βραχύς μοι λείπεται λόγος. Εἰ 175  
μεν γὰρ ἡρνεῖτο μὴ δειλὸς εἶναι ἢ ὑμεῖς μὴ συνήδeite αὐτῷ, διατριβὴν ὁ λόγος ἂν μοι παρείχεν · ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε, λοιπὸν ὑπομνήσαι τοὺς περὶ τούτων κειμένους νόμους. Ὁ γὰρ Σόλων, ὁ παλαιὸς νομοθέτης, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίαις ᾗτο δεῖν ἐνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸν δειλὸν ὁμοίως · εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ δειλίας γραφαί. Καίτοι θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις ὑμῶν εἰ εἰσὶ φύσεως γραφαί. Εἰσὶν. Τίνος ἔνεκα; Ἴν' ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίας φο-

βούμενος μάλλον ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμείνων ἀγωνιστῆς  
 176 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχει. Ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νομοθέτης 79  
 τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν δειλὸν καὶ τὸν λιπόντα τὴν  
 τάξιν ἔξω τῶν περιρῥαντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξείργει,  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐὰ στεφανοῦσθαι οὐδ' εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ  
 δημοτελῆ· σὺ δὲ τὸν ἀστεφάνωτον ἐκ τῶν νόμων κε-  
 λεύεις ἡμᾶς στεφανοῦν, καὶ τῷ σαυτοῦ ψηφίσματι τὸν  
 οὐ προσήκοντα εἰσκαλεῖς τοῖς τραγωδοῖς εἰς τὴν ὀρχή-  
 στραν, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ δει-  
 λίαν προδεδωκότα.

Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως,  
 ἐκείνο μέμνησθε ὅταν φῇ δημοτικὸς εἶναι. Θεωρεῖτ'  
 αὐτοῦ μὴ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον, καὶ σκοπεῖτε μὴ  
 τίς φησὶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τίς ἔστιν.

177 Ἐπεὶ δὲ στεφάνων ἀνεμνήσθην καὶ δωρεῶν, ἕως  
 ἔτι μέμνημαι, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ  
 μὴ καταλύσετε τὰς ἀφθόνους ταύτας δωρεὰς καὶ τοὺς  
 εἰκῇ διδομένους στεφάνους, οὗθ' οἱ τιμώμενοι χάριν  
 ὑμῖν εἴσονται οὔτε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐπα-  
 νορθωθήσεται· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πονηροὺς οὐ μή ποτε  
 βελτίους ποιήσετε, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην  
 ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖτε. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, μεγάλα  
 178 τούτων οἶμαι σημεῖα δείξειν ὑμῖν. Εἰ γάρ τις ὑμᾶς  
 ἐρωτήσκει πότερον ὑμῖν ἐνδοξοτέρα δοκεῖ ἢ πόλις εἶναι  
 ἐπὶ τῶν νυνὶ καιρῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων, ἅπαντες  
 ἂν ὁμολογήσαιτε ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων. Ἄνδρες δὲ  
 πότερον τότε ἀμείνους ἦσαν ἢ νυνί; Τότε μὲν διαφέ-



ροντες, νυνὶ δὲ πολλῶ καταδεέστεροι. Δωρεὰ δὲ καὶ  
 στέφανοι καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ σιτήσεις ἐν πρυτανείῳ  
 πότερον τότε ἦσαν πλείους ἢ νυνί; Τότε μὲν ἦν  
 σπάνια τὰ καλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄνομα  
 τίμιον· νῦν δ' ἤδη καταπέπλυται τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸ  
 στεφανοῦν ἐξ ἔθους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ποιείσθε.  
 Οὐκοῦν ἄτοπον οὕτως διαλογιζομένοις τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς 179  
 νῦν πλείους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως τότε  
 μᾶλλον ἰσχύειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας νῦν μὲν χείρους εἶναι,  
 τότε δ' ἀμείνους. Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρήσω  
 διδάσκειν. Οἴεσθ' ἂν ποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθε-  
 λῆσαί τινα ἐπασκεῖν εἰς τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἢ εἰς ἄλλον  
 τινὰ τῶν στεφανιτῶν ἀγώνων παγκράτιον ἢ καὶ ἄλλο  
 τι τῶν βαρυτέρων ἄθλων, εἰ ὁ στέφανος ἐδίδδοτο μὴ  
 τῷ κρατίστῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ; Οὐδεὶς ἂν  
 ποτ' ἠθέλησεν ἐπασκεῖν. Νῦν δ' οἶμαι διὰ τὸ σπά- 180  
 μιον καὶ τὸ περιμάχητον καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ αἰμίμη-  
 στον ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐθέλουσί τινες τὰ σώματα παρακα-  
 ταθέμενοι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ταλαιπωρίας ὑπομείναντες  
 διακινδυνεύειν.

Ὑπολάβετε τοίνυν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀγωνοθέτας  
 πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, κάκεῖνο ἐκλογίσασθε, ὅτι εἰ μὲν  
 τὰς δωρεὰς ὀλίγοις καὶ ἀξίοις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους  
 διδῶτε, πολλοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἔξετε τῆς ἀρετῆς, εἰ δὲ  
 τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ τοῖς διαπραξαμένοις χαρίζησθε, καὶ  
 τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς φύσεις διαφθερεῖτε. Ὅτι δὲ ὀρθῶς λέγω, 181  
 ἔτι μικρῶ σαφέστερον ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διδάξαι. Πό-

τερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ  
 στρατηγῆσας ὅτ' ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν  
 Πέρσην ἐνικᾶτε, ἢ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὴν τάξιν λιπών;  
 Μιλτιάδης δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην τοὺς βαρβά-  
 ρους νικήσας, ἢ οὗτος; Ἔτι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγον-  
 τα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες; Ἀριστείδης δ' ὁ δίκαιος  
 ἐπικαλούμενος, ὁ τὴν ἀνόμοιον ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δημο-  
 182 σθένει; Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους  
 οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι μευνῆσθαι  
 τοῦ θηρίου τούτου κακείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Ἐπιδειξάτω  
 τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ εἰ που γέγρα-  
 πταί τινα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν στεφανῶσαι. Ἀχάρι-  
 στος ἄρ' ἦν ὁ δῆμος; Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ μεγαλόφρων, κα-  
 κείνοί γε οἱ μὴ τετιμημένοι τῆς πόλεως ἄξιοι· οὐ γὰρ  
 ὦντο δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τιμᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ  
 μνήμῃ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, ἢ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρό-  
 νου μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀθάνατος οὔσα διαμένει. 80  
 Δωρεᾶς δὲ τίνας ἐλάβανον; Ὡν ἄξιόν ἐστι μνη-  
 σθῆναι.

183 Ἡσάν τινες, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ τοὺς τότε  
 καιροὺς οἱ πολὺν πόνον ὑπομείναντες καὶ μεγάλους  
 κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμε-  
 νοι Μήδους· οὗτοι δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δῆμον ἤτησαν  
 δωρεάν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὥς  
 τότε ἔδόκει, τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἑρμᾶς στήσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ  
 τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν, ἐφ' ᾗτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα  
 τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου

δοκῇ εἶναι ἐπίγραμμα. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῇ λέγω, ἐξ αὐ- 184  
τῶν τῶν ποιημάτων εἴσεσθε. Ἐπιγέγραπται γὰρ ἐπὶ  
μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρμῶν,

Ἦν ἄρα κάκεινοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων  
Παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοάς,  
Λιμόν τ' αἰθωνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρρη  
Πρώτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμηχανίην.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ,

Ἦγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν  
Ἀντ' εὐεργεσίας καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.  
Μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει  
Ἀμφὶ ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Ἑρμῇ,

185

Ἐκ ποτε τῇσδε πόλῃος ἅμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι Μενεσθεὺς  
Ἦγείτο ζάθεον Τρωϊκὸν ἀμπεδίον,  
Ὅν ποθ' Ὀμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων  
Κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν.  
Οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι  
Κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡγορέης.

Ἔστι πού τοι τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; Οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ  
τοῦ τοῦ δήμου.

Προσελθετε δὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοὰν τὴν 186  
ποικίλην· ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ  
ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. Τί οὖν ἔστιν,



ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; Ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη γέγραπται. Τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατηγός; Οὕτωςι μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἅπαντες ἀποκρίναισθε ἂν ὅτι Μιλτιάδης, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται. Πῶς; Οὐκ ἤτησε τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην; Ἦιτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ πρώτῳ γραφῆναι, παρακαλοῦντι τοὺς  
 187 στρατιώτας. Ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρώῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἣν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγούσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας καὶ νικήσας Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης, εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας δραχμάς (καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἑλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον), ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσῷ· τότε μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανος τίμιος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς καταπεφρόνηται. Καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῇ πρᾶξαι κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν βουλὴν σκεψαμένην ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φυλῆς ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον τοῖς καταλαβοῦσι Φυλὴν, οὐχ ὅσοι τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιόντων. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα.

188 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΩΡΕΑΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΦΥΛΗΣ.

Παρανάγνωθι καὶ ὃ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθένει τῷ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίῳ.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

81 Τούτῳ τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξαλείφεται ἡ τῶν καταγα-  
γόντων τὸν δῆμον δωρεά. Εἰ τοῦτ' ἔχει καλῶς, ἐκείνο  
αἰσchrῶς· εἰ ἐκείνοι κατ' ἀξίαν ἐτιμήθησαν, οὗτος  
ἀνάξιος ὧν στεφανοῦται.

Καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν ὡς οὐ 189  
δίκαια ποιῶ παραβάλλων αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων  
ἔργα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλάμμωνα φήσκει τὸν πύκτην Ὀλυμ-  
πίασι στεφανωθῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν παλαιὸν  
ἐκείνον πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνιστάς,  
ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πύκταις ἐστὶν ὁ  
ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιούσι στεφανοῦσθαι  
πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἧς καὶ ἔνεκα στεφανοῦνται. Δεῖ  
γὰρ τὸν κήρυκα ἀψευδεῖν, ὅταν τὴν ἀνάρρῃσιν ἐν τῷ  
θεάτρῳ ποιῇται πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. Μὴ οὖν ἡμῖν  
ὡς Παταικίωνος ἄμεινον πεπολίτευσαι διέξιθι, ἀλλ'  
ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας οὕτω τὰς χάριτας τὸν  
δῆμον ἀπαίτει.

Ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, 190  
ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ὃ  
ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγα-  
γούσιν.

## ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Τούσδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων  
Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους  
Θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πόλιος πρῶτοι καταπαύειν  
Ἦρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

- 191 Ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρξαντας κατέλυσαν, διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς τιμηθῆναι. Ἐναν-  
 λον γὰρ ἦν τότε πᾶσιν ὅτι τηνικαῦτα ὁ δῆμος κατε-  
 λύθη, ἐπειδὴ τινες τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων ἀνεῖ-  
 λον. Καὶ γάρ τοι, ὡς ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑμαντοῦ  
 ἐπυνθανόμην (ὃς ἔτη βιοὺς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἐτε-  
 λεύτησεν, ἀπάντων μετασχὼν τῶν πόνων τῇ πόλει),  
 ὃς πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξήκει ἐπὶ σχολῆς. Ἐφη γάρ,  
 ὅτε ἀρτίως κατεληλύθει ὁ δῆμος, εἴ τις εἰσίοι γραφὴν  
 παρανόμων εἰς δικαστήριον, εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ  
 192 τὸ ἔργον. Τί γάρ ἐστιν ἀνοσιώτερον ἀνδρὸς παρά-  
 νομα λέγοντος καὶ πράττοντος; Καὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν,  
 ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐποιοῦντο  
 ὥσπερ νῦν γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἦσαν πολὺ χαλεπώτεροι οἱ  
 δικασταὶ τοῖς παράνομα γράφουσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατη-  
 γόρου, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνεπόδιζον τὸν γραμματέα καὶ  
 ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀναγιγνώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψή-  
 φισμα, καὶ ἡλίσκοντο οἱ παράνομα γράφοντες οὐκ εἰ  
 πάντας παραπηδήσαιεν τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' εἰ μίαν μό-  
 νον συλλαβὴν παραλλάξαιεν. Τὸ δὲ νυνὶ γιγνόμενον  
 πρᾶγμα ὑπερκαταγέλαστόν ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γραμ-  
 ματεὺς ἀναγιγνώσκει τὸ παράνομον, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ  
 ὥσπερ ἐπ'ωδὴν ἢ ἀλλότριον τι πρᾶγμα ἀκροώμενοι  
 193 πρὸς ἐτέρῳ τινὶ τὴν γνώμην ἔχουσιν. Ἦδη δ' ἐκ  
 τῶν τεχνῶν τῶν Δημοσθένους αἰσχρὸν ἔθος ἐν τοῖς  
 δικαστηρίοις παραδέχεσθε. Μετενήνεκται γὰρ ὑμῖν  
 τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος ἀπολο-



γείται, ὁ δὲ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν κατηγορεῖ, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἐνίοτε ὧν μὲν εἰσι κριταὶ ἐπιλανθάνονται, ὧν δ' οὐκ εἰσὶ δικασταί, περὶ τούτων ἀναγκάζονται τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν. Λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων, ἐὰν ἄρα ποθ' ἄψηται τοῦ πράγματος, οὐχ ὥς ἔννομα γέγραφεν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἕτερος τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν. Ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ νυνὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἀκούω Κτησι- 194 φῶντα, ἐτόλμα δ' ἐν ὑμῖν ποτὲ σεμνύνεσθαι Ἀριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀζημιεὺς λέγων ὅτι γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφευγεν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε.

Ἄλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι πλείστα πάντων γεγραφὼς ψηφίσματα οὐδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων, καλῶς, οἶμαι, σεμνυνόμενος. Ἐγράφοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλους παρανόμων οὐ μόνον οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι, 82 ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς φίλους, εἴ τι ἐξαμάρτοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Ἐκείθεν δὲ τοῦτο γνώσεσθε. Ἀρχῖνος γὰρ ὁ ἐκ 195 Κοίλης ἐγράψατο παρανόμων Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα γράψαντά τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, [στεφανοῦν] ἕνα τῶν συγκατελθόντων αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, καὶ εἶλε νεωστὶ γεγεννημένων αὐτῷ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ ὑπελογίσαντο οἱ δικασταί· ἡγοῦντο γάρ, ὥσπερ τότε αὐτοὺς φεύγοντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Θρασύβουλος κατήγαγεν, οὕτω νῦν μένοντας ἐξελαύνειν γράφοντά τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους. Ἄλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον γίγνεται· 196 οἱ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν τὰς σιτήσεις

τινὲς εὐρημένων ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἔξαιτοῦνται τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἀχαρίστους εἶναι διακαίως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοιτε· εἰ γάρ τις ἐν δημοκρατία τετιμημένος, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ ἣν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι, τολμᾷ βοηθεῖν τοῖς παράνομα γράφουσι, καταλύει τὴν πολιτείαν ὑφ' ἧς τετίμηται.

- 197 Τίς οὖν ἀποδέδεικται λόγος ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ συνηγόρῳ καὶ σώφρονι; Ἐγὼ λέξω. Εἰς τρία μέρη διαιρεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅταν εἰσὶν γραφὴ παρανόμων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. Ἐγχεῖται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδωρ τῷ κατηγορῷ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὕδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι καὶ τοῖ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ παράνομον, ἤδη τὸ τρίτον ὕδωρ ἐγχεῖται τῇ τιμῇσει
- 198 καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας. Ὅστις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τιμῇσει τὴν ψήφον αἰτεῖ, τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ὑμετέραν παραιτεῖται· ὅστις δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν ψήφον αἰτεῖ, ὅρκον αἰτεῖ, νόμον αἰτεῖ, δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ, ὧν οὔτε αἰτῆσαι οὐδὲν ὅσιον οὐδενὶ οὔτ' αἰτηθέντα ἑτέρῳ δοῦναι. Κελεύσατε οὖν αὐτούς, ἑάσαντας ὑμᾶς τὴν πρώτην ψήφον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διενεγκεῖν, ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν τί-
- 199 μῃσιν. Ὅλως δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀλίγου δέω εἰπεῖν ὥς καὶ νόμον δεῖ τεθῆναι ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς μόνον ταῖς παρανόμων, μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε τῷ κατηγορῷ συνηγόρους παρασχέσθαι μήτε τῷ τὴν γραφὴν τῶν παρανόμων φεύγοντι. Οὐ γὰρ ἀόριστόν ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ὠρισμένον τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις.

Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλόμεθα 200  
 τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ, τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν ᾧ δια-  
 γινώσκεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ταῖς τῶν πα-  
 ρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ σα-  
 νίδιον καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι.  
 Ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδείξας κατάβαινε·  
 καὶ τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν; Ὅταν δ'  
 ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν παρακαλῆς κα-  
 κοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων, κλέπτεις τὴν  
 ἀκρόασιν, βλάπτεις τὴν πόλιν, καταλύεις τὴν δημο-  
 κρατίαν.

Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἀποτροπὴ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων; Ἐγὼ 201  
 ἔρῳ. Ἐπειδὰν προσελθὼν ἐνταυθοῖ Κτησιφῶν διεξέλ-  
 θη πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐτῷ προ-  
 οίμιον, ἔπειτ' ἐνδιατρίβῃ καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῇται, ὑπομνή-  
 σατ' αὐτὸν ἄνευ θορύβου τὸ σανίδιον λαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς  
 νόμους τῷ ψηφίσματι παραναγνῶναι. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ  
 προσποιῇται ὑμῶν ἀκούειν, μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνου ἐθέλετε  
 ἀκούειν· οὐ γὰρ τῶν φευγόντων τὰς οὐ δικαίας ἀπο-  
 λογίας εἰσεληλύθατε ἀκροασόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐθελόν-  
 των δικαίως ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Ἐὰν δ' ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν 202  
 δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν Δημοσθένην παρακαλῇ, μάλιστα  
 μὲν μὴ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον, οἰόμενον  
 ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, μηδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦθ'  
 ὑμῶν μηδεὶς καταλογιζέσθω, ὃς ἂν ἐπανερομένου Κτη-  
 σιφώντος εἰ καλέσῃ Δημοσθένην πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ  
 κάλει, κάλει. Ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νό-



μους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς. Ἄν δ' ἄρα  
 ὑμῖν δόξη ἀκούειν, ἀξιώσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν  
 203 τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὄνπερ καὶ γὰρ κατηγορήκα. Ἐγὼ  
 δὲ πῶς κατηγορήκα; Ἴνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς. Οὔτε  
 τὸν ἴδιον βίον τὸν Δημοσθένους πρότερον διεξῆλθον<sup>83</sup>  
 οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἐμνή-  
 σθην, ἄφθονα δῆπου καὶ πολλὰ ἔχων λέγειν, ἢ πάντων  
 γ' ἂν εἶην ἀπορώτατος· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς νό-  
 μους ἐπέδειξα ἀπαγορεύοντας μὴ στεφανοῦν τοὺς ὑπευ-  
 θύνους, ἔπειτα τὸν ῥήτορα ἐξήλεγξα γράψαντα Δημο-  
 σθένην ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα στεφανοῦν οὐδὲν προβαλόμενον,  
 οὐδὲ προσεγγράψαντα ἐπειδὴν δῶ τὰς εὐθύνας,  
 ἀλλὰ παντελῶς καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καταπεφρο-  
 νηκότα· καὶ τὰς ἐσομένας πρὸς ταῦτα προφάσεις  
 204 εἶπον, ἃς ἀξιῶ καὶ ὑμᾶς διαμνημονεύειν. Δεύτερον δ'  
 ὑμῖν διεξῆλθον τοὺς περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμους, ἐν  
 οἷς διαρρήδην ἀπείρηται τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανού-  
 μενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ  
 ὁ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον παραβέ-  
 βηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναρρήσεως καὶ τὸν  
 τόπον, κελεύων οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ  
 τὴν ἀναρρήσιν γίγνεσθαι, οὐδ' ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθη-  
 ναίων, ἀλλὰ μελλόντων τραγῳδῶν εἰσιέναι. Ταῦτα δ'  
 εἰπὼν μικρὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἶπον, τὰ δὲ πλείστα  
 περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων λέγω.  
 205 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιώσατε ἀπολο-  
 γεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶτον καὶ

τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέ-  
 γιστον λέγω, ὡς οὐδὲ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς. Ἐὰν  
 δ' ὑμῶν δέηται συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως  
 τοῦ λόγου, κατεπαγγελόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς  
 ἀπολογίας λύσει τὸ παράνομον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ'  
 ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι πάλαισμα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου· οὐ  
 γὰρ εἰσαυθὶς ποτε βούλεται πρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀπο-  
 λογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἐτέρων πα-  
 ρεμβολῇ πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς  
 κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς <sup>206</sup>  
 ἀγῶσιν ὁράτε τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως ἀλλήλοις  
 διαγωνιζομένους, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς πόλεως περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μάχεσθε,  
 καὶ μὴ ἑάτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους  
 περιίστασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ  
 ἀκροάσει εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος  
 λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε.  
 Ἀλλ' ἃ δὴ συμβήσεται ὑμῖν, ἐὰν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον <sup>207</sup>  
 τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσθε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἤδη δίκαιός ἐμι  
 προειπεῖν. Ἐπεισάξει γὰρ τὸν γόητα καὶ βαλαντιο-  
 τόμον καὶ διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν. Οὗτος κλάει  
 μὲν ῥᾶον ἢ ἄλλοι γελῶσιν, ἐπιорκεῖ δὲ πάντων προ-  
 χειρότατα· οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι δὲ εἰ μεταβαλλόμενος  
 τοῖς ἔξω περιεστηκόσι λαιδορήσεται, φάσκων τοὺς μὲν  
 ὀλιγαρχικοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας διηριθμημένους  
 ἥκειν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ βῆμα, τοὺς δὲ δημοτικούς  
 πρὸς τὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος. Ὅταν δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγῃ, <sup>208</sup>

πρὸς μὲν τοὺς στασιαστικοὺς λόγους ἐκείνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε, ὅτι ὦ Δημόσθενες, εἰ σοὶ ἦσαν ὅμοιοι οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες, οὐκ ἄν ποθ' ἡ δημοκρατία κατέστη. Νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μεγάλων κακῶν συμβάντων ἔσωσαν τὴν πόλιν τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ παιδείας ῥῆμα φθεγξάμενοι, Μὴ μνησικακεῖν· σὺ δὲ ἐλκοποιεῖς, καὶ μᾶλλον σοι μέλει τῶν αὐθημερὸν λόγων ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως. Ὅταν δ' ἐπίορκος ὢν εἰς τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρκῶν πίστιν καταφυγάνῃ, ἐκείνο ἀπομνημονεύσατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῷ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιορκοῦντι, αἰεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς μεθ' ὀρκῶν ἀξιοῦντι πιστεῦεσθαι δυοῖν θάτερον ὑπάρξαι δεῖ, ὧν οὐδέτερόν ἐστι Δημοσθένει ὑπάρχον, ἢ τοὺς θεοὺς καινοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς μὴ τοὺς αὐτούς.

209 Περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ, ποῖ καταφύγω, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; Περιγράψατέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας· οὐκ ἔστιν ὅποι ἀναπτήσομαι, ἀνθυποβάλλετε 84 αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ποῖ καταφύγη, Δημόσθενες; Πρὸς ποίαν συμμάχων παρασκευήν; Πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; Τί προβαλλόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευσαι; Ἄ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ βεβούλευσαι, ἅπαντες ὁρῶμεν. Ἐκλιπὼν μὲν τὸ ἄστυ οὐκ οἰκεῖς, ὥς δοκεῖς, ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐξορμεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐφόδια δὲ πεπόρισαι τῇ σταν-



τοῦ ἀνανδρίᾳ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον καὶ τὰ  
 δημόσια δωροδοκήματα. Ὅλως δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; <sup>210</sup>  
 Τίς ἡ κραυγή; Τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς; Οὐχ ὁ  
 μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φεύγων ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν  
 οὐκ ἀτίμητος, σὺ δ' οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὔτε περὶ  
 τοῦ σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζῃ; Ἀλλὰ  
 περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδή; Περὶ χρυσῶν στε-  
 φάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς νό-  
 μους· ὃν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ μανεῖς ὁ δῆμος ἢ τῶν καθε- <sup>211</sup>  
 στηκότων ἐπιλελησμένος ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀκαιρίας ἐβού-  
 λετο στεφανοῦν αὐτόν, παρελθόντα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν  
 εἰπεῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον  
 δέχομαι, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἀποδοκιμάζω ἐν ᾧ  
 τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ἐφ' οἷς ἡ  
 πόλις ἐπένθησε καὶ ἐκείρατο, ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 ἐμὲ στεφανοῦσθαι. Ἀλλ' οἶμαι, ταῦτα μὲν ἂν  
 εἴποι ἀνὴρ ὄντως βεβιωκὼς μετ' ἀρετῆς· ἃ δὲ σὺ λέ-  
 ξεις, εἴποι ἂν κάθαρμα ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετὴν. Οὐ γὰρ <sup>212</sup>  
 δὴ μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῦτό γε ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς φοβηθή-  
 σεται, μὴ ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἀνὴρ μεγαλόψυχος καὶ τὰ  
 πολεμικὰ διαφέρων, ἀποτυχὼν τῶν ἀριστείων οἴκαδε  
 ἐπανελθὼν ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσεται· ὃς τοσοῦτον καταγελά  
 τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας ὥστε τὴν μιὰν κεφαλὴν  
 ταύτην καὶ ὑπεύθυνον, ἣν οὗτος παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νό-  
 μους γέγραφε στεφανῶσαι, μυριάκις κατατέτμηκε καὶ  
 τούτων μισθοὺς εἴληφε τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας γραφᾶς  
 γραφόμενος, καὶ κατακεκονδύλισται, ὥστε αὐτὸν οἶμαι

τὰ τῶν κονδύλων ἵχνη τῶν Μειδίου ἔχειν ἔτι φανερά· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐ κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον κέκτηται.

213 Περὶ δὲ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν γνώμην βραχεά βούλομαι εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ ὑπερβήσομαι, ἵνα καὶ πείραν ὑμῶν λάβω, εἰ δύνασθε τοὺς σφόδρα πονηροὺς, καὶν μή τις προείπη, διαγιγνώσκειν· ὁ δ' ἐστὶ κοινὸν καὶ δίκαιον κατ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ' ἐρῶ. Περιέρχονται γὰρ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀληθεῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες δόξας καὶ λόγους  
214 οὐ ψευδεῖς λέγοντες. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κτησιφῶν οὐ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν φησι φοβεῖσθαι, ἐλπίζειν γὰρ δόξειν ἰδιώτης εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίαν φησὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν καὶ δειλίαν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης εἰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποβλέπων θαρρύνει φησὶν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος πονηρίαν καὶ πορνοβοσκίαν ἰσχυρῶς δεδιέναι. Τοὺς δὲ κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν μηδαμῶς ὑμεῖς οἱ κοινοὶ κριταὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολύσητε.

215 Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἑμαυτὸν λοιδοριῶν βραχεά βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Πυνθάνομαι γὰρ λέξειν Δημοσθένην ὡς ἡ πόλις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μὲν ὠφέληται πολλά, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ καταβέβλαπται, καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων αἰτίας ἀνοίσειν ἐπ' ἐμέ. Οὕτω γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς ἔοικε, δεινὸς δημιουργὸς λόγων ὥστε οὐκ ἀπόχρη αὐτῷ, εἴ τι πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ἢ εἴ  
216 τινὰς δημηγορίας εἴρηκα, τούτων κατηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν μου τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς

μου κατηγορεῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος παραλείπεται, καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου διατριβὰς καταμέμφεται, καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου φέρει τινα αἰτίαν, λέγων ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. Καὶ νῆ Δί', ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, <sup>217</sup> μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν διὰ τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον οὐκ ἐκώλουν οὐδ' ἐγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πυκνὰ προσιὼν ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφήν. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβὰς ἐζήλωκα, οὔτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑμαυτοῦ αἰσχύνομαι, οὔτε τοὺς εἰρημένους ἐν ὑμῖν λόγους ἑμαυτῷ ἀρρήτους εἶναι βουλοίμην, οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δημηγορήσας ἐδεξάμην ἂν ζῆν. Τὴν δ' ἐμὴν <sup>218</sup> σιωπὴν, ὦ Δημόσθενες, ἡ τοῦ βίου μετριοῦς παρ- σκεύασεν· ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχυρῶς οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὥστε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης. Σὺ δ', οἶμαι, λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέ- κραγας. Λέγεις δὲ οὐχ ὁπόταν σοι δοκῇ οὐδ' ἂ βούλει, ἀλλ' ὁπόταν οἱ μισθοδότηι σοι προστάττωσιν· οὐκ αἰσχύνη δὲ ἀλαζονευόμενος ἂ παραχρῆμα ἐξελέγχῃ ψευδόμενος. Ἀπηνέχθη γὰρ ἡ κατὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψη- <sup>219</sup> φίσματος γραφή, ἣν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐνδείξεώς με φῆς ἀπενεγκεῖν, ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος, πρὶν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν



καταστήναι, οὐπω σοῦ τὸ περὶ Πausανίαν ἐνύπνιον  
 ἑωρακότος οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν Ἑραν νύ-  
 κτωρ διειλεγμένου. Πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ προενεδεικνύμην  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, εἴ γε μὴ ταῦτ' ἐνύπνιον ἐγὼ καὶ Δημοσθέ-  
 νης εἶδομεν;

- 220 Ἐπιτιμᾶς δέ μοι εἰ μὴ συνεχῶς, ἀλλὰ διαλείπων  
 πρὸς τὸν δῆμον προσέρχομαι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην  
 οἷε λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς μεταφέρων οὐκ ἐκ δημοκρατίας,  
 ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐτέρας πολιτείας. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρ-  
 χίαις οὐχ ὁ βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυναστεύων κατηγορεῖ,  
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ὅταν αὐτῷ  
 δόξη. Καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ χρόνου λέγειν σημείον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ  
 τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀνδρὸς πολιτευομένου,  
 τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν παραλείπειν ἡμέραν ἐργαζομένου καὶ  
 221 μισθαρνοῦντος. Ὅτι δὲ τοῦ μήπω κεκρίσθαι ὑπ'  
 ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν, ὅταν  
 καταφεύγῃς ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους, ἢ τοὺς ἀκούον-  
 τας ἐπιλήσμονας ὑπολαμβάνεις ἢ σαυτὸν παραλογίζῃ.  
 Τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἡσεβημένα σοι καὶ  
 τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν δωροδοκηθέντα, χρόνων ἐγγεγενη-  
 μένων ἐν οἷς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φανερώς ἐξηλέγχου, ἴσως ἐλπί-  
 222 ζεις τὸν δῆμον ἀμνημονεῖν· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ  
 τοὺς τριηράρχους ἀρπάγματα τίς ἂν ἀποκρύψαι χρόνος  
 δύναιτ' ἂν, ὅτε νομοθετήσας περὶ τῶν τριακοσίων νεῶν,  
 καὶ σαυτὸν πείσας Ἀθηναίους ἐπιστάτην τάξαι τοῦ  
 ναυτικοῦ, ἐξηλέγχθης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε νεῶν  
 ταχυναντουσῶν τριηράρχους ὑφηρεημένος, πλείον τῆς

πόλεως ἀφανίζων ναυτικὸν ἢ ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Νά-  
 ξῳ ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πόλλιν ἐνίκησαν ;  
 Οὕτω δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέφραξας τὰς κατὰ σαυτοῦ τι- 223  
 μωρίας ὥστε τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι μὴ σοὶ τῷ ἀδικήσαντι,  
 ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπεξιῦσι, πολὺν μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ  
 τὸν Φίλιππον ἐν ταῖς διαβολαῖς φέρων, αἰτιώμενος δέ  
 τινας ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως καιρούς, αἰεὶ τὸ παρὸν  
 λυμαινόμενος, τὸ δὲ μέλλον κατεπαγγελλόμενος. Οὐ 224  
 τὸ τελευταῖον εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν  
 Ἀναξίνου σύλληψιν τοῦ Ὠρείτου κατεσκευάσας, τοῦ  
 τὰ ἀγοράσματα Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀγοράζοντος, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν  
 ἄνδρα διεστρέβλωσας τῇ σαυτοῦ χειρὶ γράψας αὐτὸν  
 θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι, καὶ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν Ὠρεῷ κατήγου,  
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης ἔφαγες καὶ ἔπιες καὶ  
 ἔσπειςας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλες ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ  
 ξένον ποιούμενος, καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινας ; Καὶ περὶ  
 τούτων ἐν ἅπασιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ  
 κληθεὶς ξενοκτόνος οὐ τὸ ἀσέβημα ἡρνήσω, ἀλλ' ἀπε-  
 κρίνω ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι περιέστα-  
 σαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἔφησθα γὰρ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἅλας  
 περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῆς ξενικῆς τραπέζης.

86 Ἐπιστολὰς δὲ σιγῷ ψευδεῖς καὶ κατασκόπων συλ- 225  
 λήψεις καὶ βασάνους ἐπ' αἰτίαις ἀγενήτοις, ὥς ἐμοῦ  
 μετὰ τινων ἐν τῇ πόλει νεωτερίζειν βουλομένου. Ἐπει-  
 τα ἐπερωτᾷν με, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μελλει, τίς ἂν  
 εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρὸς ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθε-  
 νοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλεύοι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλθὼν

εἰς τὰ ἔνατα διεξίοι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας  
 226 ὕγιῆς ἂν ἐγένετο. Σαυτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτᾷς, τίς ἂν  
 εἴη δημαγωγὸς τοιοῦτος ὅστις τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεύσαι  
 δύναιτο, τοὺς δὲ καιροὺς ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν  
 ἀποδοίτο, τοὺς δ' εὖ φρονούντας κωλύοι διαβάλλων  
 συμβουλεύειν, ἀποδρᾷς δ' ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τὴν πό-  
 λιν ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς περιβαλὼν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι  
 ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν πεποιηκὼς μηδέν, πάντων δὲ  
 τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος γεγονώς, ἐπερωτῶν δὲ τοὺς συκοφαν-  
 τηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν καιρῶν ὅτ'  
 ἐνῆν σώζεσθαι, διὰ τί αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσαν ἐξαμαρτά-  
 227 νειν; Ἀποκρύπτοιο δὲ τὸ πάντων τελευταῖον, ὅτι  
 τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης οὐκ ἐσχολάζομεν περὶ τὴν σὴν  
 εἶναι τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως  
 ἐπρεσβεύομεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρη σοι δίκην μὴ  
 δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτεῖς καταγέλαστον ἐν  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν, ἐνταῦθ' ἐνέστην καὶ τὴν  
 γραφὴν ἀπήνεγκα.

228 Καὶ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους, ὧν ἐγὼ πυνθά-  
 νομαι Δημοσθένην λέξειν, ἐφ' ᾧ νυνὶ μέλλω λέγειν  
 ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα. Ἀφομοιοῖ γάρ μου τὴν φύσιν  
 ταῖς Σειρήσιν, ὡς ἔοικε. Καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ κη-  
 λείσθαι φησι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀπόλλυσθαι,  
 διόπερ οὐδ' εὐδοκιμεῖν τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων μουσικὴν·  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν  
 φύσιν μου γεγενῆσθαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων.  
 Καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὅλως μὲν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ πρέ-



πειν ἡγοῦμαι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν (τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας αἰσχρὸν τὸν αἰτιώμενόν ἐστι τὸ ἔργον μὴ ἔχειν ἐπιδείξαι), εἰ <sup>229</sup> δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ῥηθῆναι, οὐ Δημοσθένους ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στρατηγοῦ μεγάλα μὲν τὴν πόλιν κατεργασμένου, λέγειν δὲ ἀδυνάτου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀντιδίκων διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηλωκότος φύσιν, ὅτι σύνοιδεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν διαπέπρακται δυναμένῳ φράσαι, τὸν δὲ κατήγορον ὁρᾷ δυνάμενον καὶ τὰ μὴ πεπραγμένα ὑφ' αὐτοῦ παριστάναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὡς διώκηκεν. "Οταν δ' ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκεῖμενος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τούτων πικρῶν καὶ περιέργων, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταφεύγῃ, τίς ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο; Οὗ τὴν γλῶτταν ὥσπερ τῶν αὐλῶν ἑάν τις ἀφέλῃ, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδέν ἐστιν.

Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ <sup>230</sup> ζητῶ πρὸς τί ἂν ἀποβλέποντες ἀποψηφίσαισθε τὴν γραφήν. Πότερ' ὡς τὸ ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἔννομον; Ἀλλ' οὐδεμία πώποτε γνώμη παρανομωτέρα γεγένηται. Ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι δίκην δοῦναι; Οὐκ ἄρ' εἰσὶ παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθῆναι βίου, εἰ τοῦτον ἀφήσετε. Ἐκείνο δ' οὐ λυπηρόν, εἰ πρότερον μὲν ἐνεπίμπλατο ἡ ὀρχήστρα χρυσῶν στεφάνων οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διὰ τὸ ξενικοῖς στεφάνοις ταύτην ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀστεφάνωτοι καὶ ἀκήρυκτοι γίγνεσθε, οὗτος δὲ κηρυχθήσεται; Καὶ εἰ μὲν τις τῶν τραγικῶν ποιητῶν τῶν <sup>231</sup> μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισαγόντων ποιήσειεν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τὸν

Θερσίτην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στεφανούμενον, οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν ὑπομείνειεν, ὅτι φησὶν Ὅμηρος ἄνανδρον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ συκοφάντην· αὐτοὶ δ' ὅταν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον στεφανώτε, οὐκ οἴεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξαις συρίττεσθαι; Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατέρες ὑμῶν τὰ ἔνδοξα καὶ λαμπρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνετίθεσαν τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ καταδεέστερα εἰς τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς φαύλους ἔτρεπον· Κτησιφῶν δ' ὑμᾶς οἶεται δεῖν ἀφελόντας τὴν ἀδοξίαν ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους περι-  
232 θεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ. Καὶ φατὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, ὥς καὶ ἔστὲ καλῶς ποιοῦντες, ψηφιεῖσθε δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς τύχης ἐγκαταλελείφθαι, ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους δὲ εὖ πεπονθέναι; Καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικαστηρίοις τοὺς μὲν τὰς τῶν δώρων γραφὰς ἀλισκομένους ἀτιμοῦτε, ὃν δ' αὐτοὶ μισθοῦ πολιτευόμενον σύνιστε, στεφανώσετε; Καὶ τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς τοὺς ἐκ Διονυσίων, ἐὰν μὴ δικαίως τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς κρίνωσι, ζημιοῦτε· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ κυκλίων χορῶν κριταὶ καθεστηκότες, ἀλλὰ νόμων καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, τὰς δωρεὰς οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδ' ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ἀλλὰ  
233 τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ δώσετε; Ἐπειτ' ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὁ τοιοῦτος κριτῆς ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἀσθενῆ πεποιηκώς, ἰσχυρὸν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα. Ἄνῃρ γὰρ ἰδιώτης ἐν πόλει δημοκρατουμένη νόμῳ καὶ ψήφῳ βασιλεύει· ὅταν δ' ἑτέρῳ ταῦτα παραδῶ, καταλέλκε τὴν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν. Ἐπειθ' ὁ μὲν ὅρκος, ὃν ὁμωμοκῶς δικάζει, συμπαρακολουθῶν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ (δι' αὐτὸν

γάρ, οἶμαι, γέγονε τὸ ἀμάρτημα), ἡ δὲ χάρις πρὸς ὃν ἐχαρίζετο ἄδηλος γεγένηται · ἡ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανὴς φέρεται.

Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἔμοιγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμφοτέρα <sup>234</sup> καὶ κατορθοῦν καὶ παρακινδυνεύειν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ σωφρονοῦντες. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις προτέσθε τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἰσχυρά, οὐκ ἐπαινῶ · ὅτι δ' οὐ γεγένηται φορὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ῥητόρων πονηρῶν ἅμα καὶ τολμηρῶν, εὐτυχοῦμεν. Πρώτερον μὲν γὰρ τοιαύτας φύσεις ἤνεγκε τὸ δημόσιον, αἱ ῥαδίως οὕτω κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον · ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακευόμενος. Ἐπειτ' αὐτὸν οὐχ οὖς ἐφοβεῖτο, ἀλλ' οἷς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείριζε, κατέλυσαν · ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ <sup>235</sup> τῶν τριάκοντα ἐγένοντο, οἱ πλείους ἢ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν πρὶν τὰς αἰτίας ἀκοῦσαι ἐφ' αἷς ἔμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ ἐκφοράς τῶν τελευτησάντων εἶων τοὺς προσήκοντας παραγίγνεσθαι. Οὐχ ὑφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔξετε τοὺς πολιτευομένους ; Οὐ ταπεινώσαντες ἀποπέμψετε τοὺς νῦν ἐπηρμένους ; Οὐ μέμνησθ' ὅτι οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐπέθετο πρότερον δήμου καταλύσει, πρὶν ἂν μείζον τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύσῃ ;

Ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐναντίον <sup>236</sup> ὑμῶν ἀναλογισαίμην πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα, διὰ ποίας εὐεργεσίας ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην ὀστεφανῶσαι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις (ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω), ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τείχη καλῶς



ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου. Τοῦ γὰρ ταύτ' ἐξειργάσθαι  
 καλῶς τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τούτων αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν  
 ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρακώσαντα χρὴ τὰ τείχη οὐδὲ τὰς  
 δημοσίας ταφὰς ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον  
 δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιον γεγενημένον τῇ  
 237 πόλει. Εἰ δὲ ἤξεις ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον μέρος τοῦ ψηφί-  
 σματος, ἐν ᾧ τετόλμηκας γράφειν ὡς ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς  
 καὶ διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀφελὼν τὴν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὸν κόμπου  
 τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἄψαι τῶν ἔργων, ἐπίδειξον ἡμῖν ὅ τι  
 λέγεις. Τὰς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας καὶ τοὺς  
 Εὐβοέας δωροδοκίας παραλείπω· ὅταν δὲ τῆς πρὸς  
 Θηβαίους συμμαχίας τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιθῆς Δημοσθένει,  
 τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας ἐξαπατᾷς, τοὺς δ' εἰδότας καὶ  
 αἰσθανομένους ὑβρίζεις. Ἀφελὼν γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ  
 τὴν δόξαν τὴν τούτων, δι' ἣν ἐγένετο ἡ συμμαχία, λαν-  
 θάνειν οἷε ἡμᾶς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα Δημοσθένει  
 238 περιτιθείς. Ἠλίκον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀλαζόνεμα τοῦτο,  
 ἐγὼ πειράσομαι μεγάλῳ σημείῳ διδάξαι. Ὁ γὰρ τῶν  
 Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον χρόνῳ πρὸ τῆς  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέπεμψε τῷ  
 δήμῳ καὶ μάλα ὑβριστικὴν καὶ βάρβαρον ἐπιστολὴν,  
 ἐν ᾗ τά τε δὴ ἄλλα καὶ μάλ' ἀπαιδευτῶς διελέχθη, καὶ  
 ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐνέγραψεν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, ἐγώ, φησιν, 83  
 ὑμῖν χρυσοῖον οὐ δώσω· μή με αἰτεῖτε· οὐ  
 239 γὰρ λήψεσθε. Οὗτος μέντοι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐγκαταλη-  
 φθὲς ὑπὸ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων αὐτῷ κινδύνων, οὐκ αἰ-

τούντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς ἐκὼν κατέπεμψε τριακόσια  
τάλαντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἃ σωφρονῶν ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἐδέξατο.  
Ὁ δὲ κομίζων ἦν τὸ χρυσίον καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ  
χρεία συμμάχων. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων  
συμμαχίαν ἐξειργάζετο. Σὺ δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων  
ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῆς δυστυχεστάτης συμμαχίας ἐνοχλεῖς  
ἀεὶ λέγων, τὰ δ' ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα ὑποσιωπῆς ἃ  
προλαβὼν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χρυσίου ἀπεστέρησας. Οὐ<sup>240</sup>  
δι' ἔνδειαν μὲν χρημάτων ἔνεκα πέντε ταλάντων οἱ ξέ-  
νοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τὴν ἄκραν οὐ παρέδωκαν ; Διὰ δὲ  
ἐννέα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πάντων Ἀρκάδων ἐξεληλυ-  
θότων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐτοίμων ὄντων βοηθεῖν ἢ πρά-  
ξις οὐ γεγένηται ; Σὺ δὲ πλουτεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς  
ταῖς σαυτοῦ χορηγεῖς. Καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸ μὲν βα-  
σιλικὸν χρυσίον παρὰ τούτῳ, οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι παρ' ὑμῖν.

Ἄξιον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν θεωρῆσαι.<sup>241</sup>  
Εἰ γὰρ τολμήσει Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθένην παρακα-  
λεῖν λέξοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὗτος δ' ἀναβὰς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκω-  
μιάσει, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὧν πεπόνθατε τὸ ἀκρόαμα  
γίγνεται. Ὅπου γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ὄντως ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς,  
οἷς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνισμεν ἔργα, ἔαν τοὺς καθ' ἑαυ-  
τῶν ἐπαίνους λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν · ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος  
αἰσχύνῃ τῆς πόλεως γεγονὼς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάξῃ, τίς ἂν  
τὰ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσειεν ἀκούων ;

Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀναισχύντου πραγματείας, ἔαν<sup>242</sup>  
σωφρονῆς, ἀποστήσῃ, ποιήσαι δέ, ὧ Κτησιφῶν, διὰ  
σαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπολογίαν. Οὐ γὰρ δή που τοῦτό γε σκή-

ψη, ὡς οὐ δυνατὸς εἶ λέγειν. Καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἄτοπόν σοι  
 συμβαίνειν, εἰ πρῶην μὲν ποθ' ὑπέμεινας πρεσβευτῆς  
 ὡς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Φιλίππου θυγατέρα χειροτονεῖσθαι  
 συναχθεσθισόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μολοττῶν βασιλείας  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, νυνὶ δὲ οὐ φήσεις δύνασθαι λε-  
 γειν. Ἐπειτα γυναῖκα μὲν ἄλλοτρίαν πενθοῦσαν δύ-  
 νασαι παραμυθεῖσθαι, γράψας δὲ μισθοῦ ψήφισμα οὐκ  
 243 ἀπολογήσῃ; Ἡ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὃν γέγραφας στεφα-  
 νοῦσθαι, οἷος μὴ γιγνώσκεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν εἰ πεπονθότων,  
 ἂν μή τις σοι συνείπῃ; Ἐπερώτησον δὴ τοὺς δικα-  
 στὰς εἰ ἐγίγνωσκον Χαβρίαν καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμό-  
 θεον, καὶ πυθοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν διὰ τί τὰς δωρεὰς αὐτοῖς  
 ἔδοσαν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔστησαν. Ἀπαντες γὰρ ἅμα  
 σοι ἀποκρινοῦνται ὅτι Χαβρία μὲν διὰ τὴν περὶ Νάξου  
 ναυμαχίαν, Ἰφικράτει δὲ ὅτι μόραν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέ-  
 κτεινε, Τιμοθέῳ δὲ διὰ τὸν περίπλου τὸν εἰς Κέρκυραν,  
 καὶ ἄλλοις, ὧν ἐκάστῳ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κατὰ πόλεμον  
 244 ἔργα πέπρακται. Δημοσθέней δ' ἀντεροῦ διὰ τί δώ-  
 σετε; Ὅτι δωροδόκος, ὅτι δειλός, ὅτι τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπε.  
 Καὶ πότερον τοῦτον τιμήσετε, ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀτιμώσετε  
 καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας; Οὐδ'  
 νομίσαθ' ὁρᾶν σχετλιάζοντας εἰ οὗτος στεφανωθήσεται.  
 Καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δεινόν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὰ μὲν  
 ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὸν σίδηρον, τὰ ἄφωνα καὶ  
 ἀγνώμονα, εἴαν τῷ ἐμπεσόντι ἀποκτείνῃ, ὑπερορίζομεν,  
 καὶ εἴαν τις αὐτὸν διαχρήσῃται, τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τοῦτο  
 245 πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτομεν, Δημοσθένην



δέ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν γράψαντα μὲν τὴν πανυστάτην ἔξοδον, προδόντα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας, τοῦτον ὑμεῖς τιμῆσετε. Οὐκοῦν ὑβρίζονται μὲν οἱ τελευτήσαντες, ἀθυμότεροι δὲ οἱ ζῶντες γίγνονται ὀρώντες τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλον τὸν θάνατον κείμενον, τὴν δὲ μνήμην ἐπιλείπουσιν. Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐὰν ἐπερωτῶσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ νεώτεροι πρὸς ποῖον χρὴ παράδειγμα αὐτοὺς τὸν βίον ποιεῖσθαι, τί κρινεῖτε; Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-<sup>246</sup> ναῖοι, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ παλαίστραι οὐδὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα οὐδ' ἢ<sup>89</sup> μουσικὴ μόνον παιδεύει τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ δημόσια κηρύγματα. Κηρύττεται τις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὅτι στεφανοῦνται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ εὐνοίας ἄνθρωπος ἀσχήμων ὢν τῷ βίῳ καὶ βδελυρός· ὁ δέ γε νεώτερος ταῦτ' ἰδὼν διεφθάρη. Δίκην τις δέδωκε πονηρὸς καὶ πορνοβοσκὸς ὥσπερ Κτησιφῶν· οἱ δέ γε ἄλλοι πεπαιδεύονται. Τὰναντία τις ψηφισάμενος τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἐπανελθὼν οἴκαδε παιδεύει τὸν υἱόν· ὁ δέ γε εἰκότως οὐ πείθεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ νουθετεῖν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἤδη δικαίως ὀνομάζεται.

Ὡς οὖν μὴ μόνον κρίνοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωρούμενοι,<sup>247</sup> οὕτω τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε, εἰς ἀπολογισμὸν τοῖς νῦν μὲν οὐ παροῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπερησομένοις δὲ ὑμᾶς τί ἐδικάζετε. Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τοιαύτη δόξει ἢ πόλις εἶναι, ὁποῖός τις ἂν ἦ ὁ κηρυττόμενος· ἔστι δὲ ὄνειδος μὴ τοῖς προγόνους ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τῇ Δημοσθένους ἀνανδρίᾳ προσεικασθῆναι. Πῶς οὖν ἂν τις τὴν τοιαύτην αἰσχύνην ἐκφύγοι; Ἐὰν τοὺς<sup>248</sup>

προκαταλαμβάνοντας τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῶν  
 ὀνομάτων, ἀπίστους ὄντας τοῖς ἡθεσι, φυλάξησθε. Ἡ  
 γὰρ εὐνοια καὶ τὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας ὄνομα κεῖται μὲν  
 ἐν μέσῳ, φθάνουσι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντες τῷ λόγῳ  
 249 ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ τοῖς ἔργοις πλείστον ἀπέχοντες. "Οταν  
 οὖν λάβητε ῥήτορα ξενικῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων  
 ἐν τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐπιθυμοῦντα, ἐπανάγειν αὐτὸν κε-  
 λεύετε καὶ τὸν λόγον, ὥσπερ τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτη-  
 μάτων ὁ νόμος κελεύει ποιεῖσθαι, εἰς βίον ἀξιόχρεων  
 καὶ τρόπον σώφρονα. "Οτῷ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ μαρτυρεῖται,  
 μὴ βεβαιούτε αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπαίνους, καὶ τῆς δημοκρα-  
 250 τίας ἐπιμελήθητε ἥδη διαφευγούσης ὑμᾶς. Ἡ οὐ δει-  
 νὸν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅτι τὸ μὲν βουλευτήριον καὶ ὁ  
 δῆμος παροράται, αἱ δ' ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ αἱ πρεσβεῖαι  
 ἀφικνούνται εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας, οὐ παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων  
 ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ  
 καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ; Καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν νόμων  
 ζημία θάνατος, ταῦτά τινες οὐκ ἔξαρνούνται πράττειν,  
 ἀλλ' ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀλ-  
 λήλοις παραναγιγνώσκουσιν, καὶ παρακελεύονται ὑμῖν  
 οἱ μὲν βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν πρόσωπα ὡς φύλακες  
 τῆς δημοκρατίας, ἔτεροι δ' αἰτοῦσι δωρεὰς ὡς σωτῆρες  
 τῆς πόλεως ὄντες.

251 Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἀθυμίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων  
 ὥσπερ παραγεγηρακῶς ἢ παρανοίας ἐαλωκῶς αὐτὸ  
 μόνον τοῦτομα τῆς δημοκρατίας περιποιεῖται, τῶν δ'  
 ἔργων ἐτέροις παρακεχώρηκεν. "Επειτ' ἀπέρχεσθε ἐκ

τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐ βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν  
 ἐράνων, τὰ περιόντα νειμάμενοι. "Οτι δ' οὐ ληρῶ, <sup>252</sup>  
 ἐκεῖθεν τὸν λόγον θεωρήσατε. Ἐγένετό τις (ἄχθομαι  
 δὲ μεμνημένος πολλάκις τὰς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως) ἐν-  
 ταυθ' ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης, ὃς ἐκπλεῖν μόνον εἰς Σάμον ἐπι-  
 χειρήσας ὡς προδότης τῆς πατρίδος αὐθημερὸν ὑπὸ τῆς  
 ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς θανάτῳ ἐξημιώθη. Ἐτερος  
 δ' ἰδιώτης ἐκπλεύσας εἰς Ῥόδον, ὅτι τὸν φόβον ἀνάν-  
 δρως ἤνεγκε, πρώην ποτὲ εἰσηγγέλθη καὶ ἴσαι αὐτῷ  
 αἱ ψῆφοι ἐγένοντο· εἰ δὲ μία μόνον μετέπεσεν, ὑπερ-  
 ὠριστ' ἂν ἦ ἀπέθανεν. Ἀντιθῶμεν δὴ τὸ νυνὶ γι- <sup>253</sup>  
 γνόμενον. Ἀνὴρ ρήτωρ, ὁ πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἷτιος,  
 ἔλιπε μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τάξιν, ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως· οὗτος στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ καὶ κηρύττεσθαι  
 οἶεται δεῖν. Οὐκ ἀποπέμψετε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς κοι-  
 νὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοράν; Ἡ συλλαβόντες ὡς  
 ληστήν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπ' ὀνομάτων διὰ τῆς πολι-  
 τείας πλέοντα, τιμωρήσεσθε; Καὶ τὸν καιρὸν μνή-  
 σθητε ἐν ᾧ τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε. Ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων <sup>254</sup>  
 μελλεῖ τὰ Πύθια γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων συλλέγεσθαι· διαβέβληται δ' ἡ πόλις ἐκ  
 τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων περὶ τοὺς νῦν καιρούς·  
 δόξετε δ', εἰ μὲν τοῦτον στεφανώσητε, ὁμογνώμονες  
<sup>90</sup> εἶναι τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ δὲ  
 τούναντίον τούτου πράξητε, ἀπολύσετε τὸν δῆμον τῶν  
 αἰτιῶν.

Μὴ οὖν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας <sup>255</sup>



τῆς πόλεως βουλευέσθε, καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας μὴ νέμετε, ἀλλὰ κρίνετε, καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς εἰς βελτίω σώματα καὶ ἄνδρας ἀξιολογωτέρους ἀπόθεσθε, καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὤσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι διαβλέψαντες εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλευσασθε, τίνες ὑμῶν εἰσὶν οἱ βοηθήσοντες Δημοσθένει, πότερον οἱ συγκυνηγέται, ἢ οἱ συγγυμνασταὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτ' ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. — Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον οὐχ ὅς ἀγρίους κυνηγετῶν οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας ἐπιμελούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπασκῶν τέχνας.

<sup>256</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένους διαγεγένηται. — Ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὅταν φῇ Βυζαντίους μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν πρεσβεύσας ἐξελέσθαι τῶν Φιλίππου, ἀποστῆσαι δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνας, ἐκπλήξαι δὲ Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας · οἶεται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐηθείας ἤδη προβεβηκέναι ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ Πειθὼ τρέφοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ συκοφάντην ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ πόλει.

<sup>257</sup> Ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἤδη τοῦ λόγου συνηγόρους τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δωροδοκημάτων αὐτῷ παρακαλῇ, ὑπολαμβάνετε ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, οὗ νῦν ἐστηκὼς ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀσέλγειαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτας, Σόλωνα μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν, σωφρόνως, ὥς προσῆκεν αὐτῷ, δεόμενον ὑμῶν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὅρκων  
<sup>258</sup> καὶ τῶν νόμων, Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα

τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὗ τελευτήσαντος τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέδω-  
 κεν ὁ δῆμος, σχετλιάζοντα ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικαιοσύνης προ-  
 πηλακισμῷ, καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα εἰ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε εἰ οἱ  
 μὲν πατέρες ὑμῶν Ἀρθμιον τὸν Ζελεΐτην κομίσαντα  
 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, ἐπιδημήσαντα  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πρόξενον ὄντα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων,  
 παρ' οὐδὲν μὲν ἦλθον ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐξεκήρυξαν δ' ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης ἧς Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν, ὑμεῖς <sup>259</sup>  
 δὲ Δημοσθένην, οὗ κομίσαντα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον,  
 ἀλλὰ δωροδοκήσαντα καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν κεκτημένον, χρυ-  
 σῷ στεφάνῳ μέλλετε στεφανοῦν. Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τελευτήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλα-  
 ταιαῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους τοὺς τῶν προγόνων οὐκ  
 οἶεσθε στενάξειν, εἰ ὁ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀντιπράττειν στεφανωθήσεται ;

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ γῇ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ σύνεσις <sup>260</sup>  
 καὶ παιδείᾳ, ἣ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά,  
 βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἴρηκα. Καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως  
 τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατηγορήκα, εἶπον ὡς ἐβουλόμην, εἰ  
 δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως, ὡς ἐδυνάμην. Ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
 εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλειπομένων αὐτοὶ τὰ  
 δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ψηφί-  
 σασθε.





## NOTES.

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THE Oration was made in a prosecution of Ctesiphon for proposing to bestow an honorary crown upon Demosthenes, on the ground of the illegality of the measure (*παράνομον γράφη*). It was delivered B.C. 330, something more than six years after the indictment was moved. The following may be taken as a general outline of the course of thought:—

1. That he trusted the factious array against him would be controlled by the law, since, as factious proceedings in the Assembly had opened the way for illegal measures, and led to the substitution of arbitrary trials, instead of the regular trials before the courts, there remained only one remedy for these disorders,—trials for proposing illegal decrees, which if they did not sustain, all was lost. §§ 1–8.

2. Necessity of the law forbidding to crown a magistrate before the accounts of his office have been accepted. §§ 9, 10.

3. That some violated this law under a plausible pretext, but Ctesiphon without any at all. §§ 11, 12.

4. That neither the manner of the appointment of a magistrate, nor the fact of his having expended his own money in his office, cleared him from responsibility, as all magistrates whatever were responsible at Athens. §§ 13–23.

5. That Demosthenes held two important offices at the time Ctesiphon proposed to crown him, and that these offices were such as the laws describe as responsible. §§ 24–31.

6. That, with regard to the proclamation of the crown, the law provides, and with very good reason, that crowns shall be conferred only in the Senate-chamber or the Pnyx, whereas Ctesiphon had proposed to confer it in the theatre. §§ 32–34.

7. That the pretence of his adversary, that there is another law authorizing proclamations in the theatre, is absurd, since it was provided that the laws should be revised every year, and all obsolete and conflicting laws annulled. §§ 35–48.

8. That, with regard to the merits of Demosthenes, he should show the statements of Ctesiphon to be false. §§ 49, 50.

9. That he might dwell upon his private misdeeds, but should pass them by. §§ 51–53.

10. That of his public misdeeds he should speak more at large, with respect to four principal periods of his public life. §§ 54–57.

11. That, in the first period, he acted in concert with Philocrates in making the peace with Philip against the interests of his country, exhibited a servile spirit of flattery towards Philip and his ambassadors, prevented the peace being made in conjunction with a common congress of the Greeks, and, especially, sacrificed Cersobleptes, their ally, to Philip. §§ 58–78.

12. That in the second period, after Philip had passed Thermopylæ and made a descent upon Phocis, Demosthenes, to avoid the responsibility of these unfavorable results of the peace, suddenly changed his course, and charged the blame upon his fellow-ambassadors, while he instigated the people to an uncompromising war against Philip, to carry on which he formed a most disadvantageous and disgraceful alliance with the Eubœans (at a later period, also, with the Thebans), in which transaction he was guilty of the grossest corruption. §§ 79–105.

13. That, during the third period, he brought disgrace upon himself and ruin upon his country: first, by his impious course in upholding the Amphisseans in their violation of the sacred country of Cirrha; and, secondly, by the alliance which

he formed with Thebes, which was highly objectionable on three grounds, — first, its terms were much more favorable to Thebes than to Athens; second, it diminished the dignity of Athens, and increased the power of Thebes; and, third, it prevented the Thebans from making peace with Philip: all which rendered it most unfitting that he should be crowned, as it was proposed. §§ 106–158.

14. That, after the battle of Chæronea, he slunk away from Athens, on a tour to collect taxes from the allies; and, after his return, offered no decree in his own name till the death of Philip, when he suddenly assumed new courage, procured the passage of decrees honoring Philip's murderer, and of public rejoicing, while he ridiculed his successor, Alexander, when at a distance, but shrunk from him when near, and finally sold himself to him. §§ 159–167.

15. Nor was Demosthenes, as was supposed, a true democrat, when tried by the proper tests of that character. §§ 168–176.

16. That the frequent conferring of public honors, such as Demosthenes was contending for, had a very injurious effect upon the country, and was directly opposed to the practice of the city in its earlier and better days, when, also, the judges were much more strict than at that time in trials, and confined the speakers much more to the subject, as he trusted they would Ctesiphon and Demosthenes on the present occasion, who would employ every art to mislead them. §§ 177–212.

17. That Ctesiphon and Demosthenes each professed great anxiety for the other, but pretended to have no concern for themselves. §§ 213, 214.

18. That with regard to the charge which he understood Demosthenes would bring against him, of having stood aloof from public affairs, and allowed him to carry through so many pernicious measures without ever bringing him to trial for any of them at the time, and now, so long after the events, bringing against him a sweeping accusation for all his public



life, he would say that this might be accounted for by his simple and quiet habits of life, and by the litigious and quarrelsome character of Demosthenes, which rendered it dangerous for any one to oppose him in any thing. §§ 215–229.

19. That it was impossible for them to set aside the indictment, either on the ground of the legality of the decree of Ctesiphon, or the character of Demosthenes, if they had any regard to their duty as judges, or the safety of the democracy. §§ 230–235.

20. That neither the repairing of the walls, nor the public measures of Demosthenes (which were the grounds of the application for a crown), constituted any reason for crowning him. §§ 236–240.

21. That least of all should the court be outraged by Demosthenes speaking his own praise, who had no claims whatever to the honor demanded, and, if he received it, would furnish a most pernicious example to all who were acquainted with the fact, which should lead them to be severe in their judgment, that the democracy might not be destroyed by such men. §§ 241–254.

22. That, in deciding the cause, they should not only guard against the influence of personal friendship for Demosthenes, but also against the effect of his impudent confidence; placing before themselves, for their guidance, the worthies of their past history. §§ 255–259.

23. That, if he had not spoken in the cause as he wished, he had spoken as he could; and it remained for them to decide it justly, not only from what he had said, but also from what he had left unsaid. § 260.

§ 1. *παρασκευὴν . . . παράταξιν*] “preparation . . . array,” i.e. of the friends and supporters of Demosthenes. As the number of judges or jurymen (*δικασταί*) in the Athenian courts was large, and as these judges were drawn from the common people, there was necessarily considerable opportunity for the influence of faction even in the courts of justice.

We know from § 56, as well as from the reply of Demosthenes (§ 196), that the court was thronged by hearers on the present occasion, most of whom, it is natural to suppose, attached themselves to the interest of the one or the other of the great orators; just as in great trials, in our own country, the friends of the two parties respectively attend in multitudes, to encourage and sustain their favorite. It is probable, indeed, from the peculiar constitution of the Athenian courts (the number of judges being so large, and not of a professional character), that factious arts were carried much farther than in our courts, and that, as at the meetings of the Assembly, applause, groans, hisses, and other like means, were employed, in turn, to influence the decision. The orators often allude to the bustling activity and overawing influence of factions in the courts of justice; as, Lysias, *Pro Bonis Aristoph.*, § 2, and Dem., *De Falsâ Legatione*, § 1. The terms here are military and figurative, on which account they seem to be unsuited to the commencement of an oration. But the occasion was an exciting one; and, besides, the words had probably acquired, in this sense, something of the force of common terms, as is the case with the corresponding terms in our language. At any rate, they are often used by the orators at the beginning of their speeches. See Lysias, as above. — *δέησεις*] “solicitations.” This refers to the same factious proceedings. The Scholiast supposes it to refer to attempts to gain over the judges by demagogical arts, which is confirmed by a comparison of Dem. *F. L.*, § 1. Bremi cites, in illustration of the meaning, the passage from Livy, lib. iii. cap. 14: “Benigne salutare, alloqui plebis homines, domum invitare, adesse in foro . . . permulcendo tractandoque mansuefacere plebem.” The agora was the great rallying-point of the people, and hence was the place to find or make partisans. Besides, most of the courts were held in the agora (*Herm.*, *Polit. Antiq.*, §§ 134, 135), and were, many of them, open to the air (*Dict. Antiq.*, art. *Δικαστήριον*), so that what was going on around could be seen from them; hence the use

of ὀρεᾶτε. — τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη] “what is proper and according to usage.” The second τὰ is omitted in some MSS.; but it seems to be required by the distinct nature of the two classes of objects referred to (lit. “the proper and the customary,” not “the proper and customary”). K. § 264. 2. — τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν] The laws were of no avail, of course, unless they were faithfully administered by the judges; and hence they are presented together as a ground of confidence.

2. Ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν] “I was wishing then,” “I could have wished then.” ὅν is omitted here, as it often is with the historical tenses, especially of verbs denoting *necessity*, *duty*, *inclination*, &c. K. § 260, R. 3. μὲν is responded to by δὲ in the beginning of § 3. — τὴν βουλήν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους] In apposition with each other. The Council or Senate of Five Hundred (so called to distinguish it from the Council of the Areopagus) was a deliberative body consisting of fifty members from each of the ten tribes of Athens, appointed annually by lot. The Senate had the initiative in all decrees (and, generally, in all deliberative matters) to be acted upon by the Assembly, since that body could pass no decree which had not been first prepared and approved by the Senate. It had also various financial duties. See Bojesen's *Grecian Antiq.*, p. 93. — τὰς ἐκκλησίας] “the popular assemblies.” Open to all the citizens of Athens, and indeed of all Attica, in person. The government of Athens was a pure democracy. — τῶν ἐφεστηκότων] “the presiding officers.” Who these were may be learned from § 3, note. From what is there said, it appears that a departure from the wholesome rules of order prescribed by Solon had led to great irregularities in the management of the assemblies, since it had given scope for the influence of factious and demagogical arts. — ἐξῆ] In the subj., after a historical tense, because the writer still desired this result. K. § 330, R. 1. b. The original practice, as established by Solon, was to call first upon all above fifty years to speak on any question proposed in the



Assembly, and then any who were younger, in order (see § 4). This, of course, tended to give a right direction to all questions, by securing the maturest views first, and to prevent irregular and unjust proceedings, by preventing disorder. If the speakers were to follow each other according to their age, there was no chance for partisans to call out a favorite at the fortunate juncture, and give undue weight and influence to his views by applause. — *βουλόμενον*] By a change of construction here, the acc., instead of the dat., is used with the infin. after *ἔξεσσι*. K. § 307, R. 3. — *χωρὶς καὶ ἐν μέρει*] “separately and in turn.” — *ἄν*] Belongs to *διοικεῖσθαι*. *δοκεῖ* is personal, instead of being impersonal (“both the city seems to me that it would,” &c.). K. § 307, R. 6.

3. *γνώμας*] “opinions,” “propositions.” — *ταῦθ’*] Referring to *γνώμας*, but put in the neuter to agree with *ψηφίσματα*, which means the same thing, but, by anticipation, is spoken of as already voted or *decreed*. See § 230. — *ἐπιψηφίζουσιν*] “put to the vote.” This duty belonged to the *proedri*, as they were called. As there were ten tribes at Athens, the year was divided into ten parts, and the fifty senators of each tribe exercised the presidency, in deliberative matters, in turn. The presiding tribe for the time being was called *φυλὴ πρυτανεύουσα*, the period of their office *πρυτανεία*, and the members *πρυτάνεις*. One of their number was appointed daily, by lot, as president (*ἐπιστάτης*), who presided, not only in the Senate, but in the assemblies of the people also. In the time of Æschines, the president was assisted in the Assembly by nine vice-presidents, chosen daily by himself from the other nine tribes, called *proedri*, and also by a tribe selected for this purpose, called *φυλὴ προεδρεύουσα*, and, as it would seem, in some way, by the prytanes themselves (see § 4, *fin.*). Now, as these presiding officers were appointed by lot, there was opportunity for deception, as in all lotteries, on the part of those who had the management of the lots, for the purpose of placing their friends or the friends of certain factions in power. This seems to be what is alluded to in the text. The

protest of any one of the *proedri* was sufficient to prevent the vote from being put; but he was liable to the severest penalty for preventing it illegally. — *καθεζόμενοι*] That is, “sitting as *proedri* by arrangement,” i.e. not by a *bonâ-fide* election by lot, but by shuffling. The presiding officers probably occupied the front seats. — *ἀναγορεύη*] “declare.” The votes were counted by the crier, and declared by the *Epistates*. — *εἰσαγγέλλειν*] “to bring to summary justice,” “to try by the process called *εἰσαγγελία*,” i.e. for the abuse (as they pretended) of his power as president. See *εἰσαγγελία*, Dict. Antiq. — *τοὺς ἰδιώτας*] “the common people.” Opposed to *ῥήτορες* (public men).

4. *καὶ τὰς κρίσεις . . . κρίνουσιν*] “and, while they have put an end to the actions by the laws, try with passion those brought on by votes,” i.e. special actions, such as the *εἰσαγγελία*, where a crime was asserted, such as either in itself or in its circumstances was unprovided for by any particular law. Such causes were brought before the popular assembly for investigation. And, as there was a better opportunity for crushing a rival in this way than in the regular process before the courts, there seems to have been a strong tendency to increase causes of this kind. *ὀργή* corresponds almost precisely to our word *passion*, which more commonly means *anger*, but also any other *feeling*. In Soph. Antig., 356, it means *an aptitude for civil affairs*. — *τὸ δέκατον πόλεως*] That is, one of the ten tribes. See § 3, note.

5. *ὁποῖονς τινας*] “as somewhat,” “as about.” He does not wish to go into detail, and hence refers the case to their own conceptions. The Scholiast says, *τὸ ἐπάχθεις ἐφηνεν, ἵνα μὴ ληρήσῃ*. For this use of *τις*, see K. § 303. 4. — *τῆς πολιτείας*] “of the constitution.” More properly, of free governments. — *αἱ τῶν . . . γραφαί*] “the indictments for illegal measures,” i.e. such as were contrary to any of the laws of Solon; of which kind, he contended, the decree of Ctesiphon to crown Demosthenes was, which called forth the present oration and the immortal reply of Demosthenes. See Dem.

de Coron., §§ 9, 17, notes. — καὶ ταύτας] “these also,” i.e. these as well as the other ordinary trials required by law (§ 4).

6. τοῖς τρόποις] “the habits,” “wills,” “caprices.” Opposed to τοῖς νόμοις below. — παρῳήσιας] “liberty of speech,” “right to participate in public affairs.” — ὁ νομοθέτης] That is, Solon, who was called *the lawgiver*, by way of eminence, by the Athenians.

7. μηδένα . . . ἐξαιρεῖσθαι] Depends, perhaps, upon ἡγεῖσθαι, taken (by zeugma) in the sense of φυλάττεσθαι (“to look out,” “see that,” a *species* of thought). But others suppose an ellipsis of εἶναι. This artful appeal to the professional pride of the judges, whom he represents as in danger of being deprived of the legitimate business of their office by the gradual encroachments of the Assembly upon their duties (see § 4), is well calculated to secure their favor. — τὰς . . . συνηγορίας] “Sæpe accusant oratores τοὺς στρατηγούς, quod tantum absit, ut reipublicæ hostes foris devincant, ut, otiosi domi manentes, seditiosorum consilia adjuvent otiumque et libertatem reipublicæ perturbent.” Bremi. — τῶν ξένων] That is, persons of weight and influence produced as witnesses (ἀναβιβάζομενοι) from foreign countries, in defence of some general or other public man, to whom they had become beholden for favors rendered while engaged in the service of his country abroad. It was thus that Jason of Pheræ came to the aid of Timotheus when on trial at Athens. See Nepos, Life of Timotheus, *fin.* — παράνομον . . . πολιτευόμενοι] “pursuing an illegal policy,” “following an illegal course of civil life.” For the meaning and usage of πολιτεύεσθαι, see Dem. de Coron., § 4, note. — ἀλλ’ . . . πολέμῳ] A hit at Demosthenes for deserting his post in the battle of Chæronea. See § 159, note. — φύλακες] “Munus quasi indicatur, quod ipsis sit demandatum ὥστ’ εἶναι φύλακες.” Bremi. The preservation of the democracy, as he had before shown (§ 6), depended upon maintaining the supremacy of the laws.

8. Κτησιφῶντα] Ctesiphon had proposed to bestow an hon-



orary crown of gold upon Demosthenes for his eminent public services, which Æschines opposes, as *illegal, based upon falsehood, and injurious to the state.*

9. τῆς ὅλης κατηγορίας] “the whole accusation,” “the general bearings of the accusation.” He has thus far (i.e. in his introduction) spoken of the cause in its general character and bearings. Taylor makes this refer to the general discussion of the illegality of the question, which follows the preliminary statement of the necessity of the law forbidding to crown a magistrate, i.e. after § 12. But it seems to me, that both the composition and the tense of προειρησθαι oppose this. — κεῖνται] “lie,” i.e. in the public archives; consequently, “exist.” — τῶν ὑπευθύνων] “those accountable,” i.e. magistrates and public functionaries having any considerable interests, especially of a pecuniary nature, intrusted to them, who had not passed the accounts of their office before the Logistæ and Euthyni, and obtained their approval of them. See Bojesen, p. 96. — τυγχάνει γεγραφῶς] “happens to have written.” It was a mere circumstance, or by chance, that these particular laws were infringed in the case; the general aspects of the cause would be the same in case of the violation of any other laws; but he was to speak of the violation of the laws in this particular case. For this use of the part. with τυγχάνω, see K. § 310. 4. 1. — ἄρχοντες] “magistrates,” “public officers.” — δωροδοκοῦντες . . . τούτων] “receiving bribes in each of these.” ἕκαστα is neuter, because the nouns to which it refers designate inanimate objects, and are of different genders. K. § 242. 1. — προσλαμβάνοντες] “in auxilium vocantes oratores.” — Duplex genus ῥητόρων hic memoratur, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου et οἱ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου. Illi videntur esse, qui ipsi senatores, quum res a senatu deliberatas proponerent, loquebantur; hi, qui surgerent pro ordine ex populo.” Bremi. — προκατελάμβανον] “forestalled,” “pre-occupied.” The imperf. implies that they were in the habit of doing it. — τῶν ἀρχῶν] “of their magistracies,” “offices.”

10. ἐπὶ αὐτοφώρῳ] “upon the very act,” “by the very act.”

— εἰκότως] “justly,” “with reason.” Because, as he goes on to say, they felt ashamed to condemn one as a speculator who had just been crowned by the people for his virtue and justice. — τὰς εὐθύνας ὠφληκώς] “having failed in the scrutiny of his accounts,” i.e. “having been found guilty of malversation in his office.” — ὑπὲρ] “out of regard to,” i.e. “to prevent.” ὑπὲρ implies a stronger interest than περὶ (see περὶ, above); and, when the object in which the interest is felt is not desirable, it may be rendered as here. See Dem. Olynth., I. § 5.

11. μὴ στεφανοῦν] For the negative, see § 35, note. — λόγοι] “words,” i.e. of the orators, “special pleadings.” — τις . . . ἐρεῖ] He is preparing the way for what he was about to do himself; namely, to name and expound the laws on this subject. — οἱ μὲν] Opposed to Κτησιφῶν δέ, below (§ 12), and in apposition with τινες, above. See Dem. Pop. Orat., IV. § 20. — εἰ δῆ] “if indeed.” — ἀλλ’ . . . αἰσχύνῃς] “anyhow, they interpose something at least between themselves and shame,” i.e. cover up the open illegality of their proposition to crown a favorite, by the addition of the clause, *when he has given account and proofs*, i.e. of his office (see § 15, note). For the meaning of ἀλλ’ οὖν (“anyhow”), see Jelf’s K. § 774, R. 1. Observe, too, the force of the word προβάλλονται (“they put forward for their own protection, or as a screen for themselves”).

12. αἰσχύνεται . . . ἡμάρτηκε] “yet blushes at his offence.” δὲ stands opposed to μὲν in the preceding sentence. In such cases, these particles are to be rendered variously, but always so as to shape their clauses with reference to each other. See Dem. Pop. Orat., II. § 2, note. — τὴν πρόφασιν] “the pretext,” “the semblance of a reason.” Referring to the addition (named above) made to their decrees for conferring crowns, by some of the more modest. — μεταξὺ . . . ἄρχοντα] “while in the full exercise of his office.” The idea of time (*while*), expressed by the participle alone, is expressed more exactly by the addition of the adverb (K. § 312, R. 6). The

decree was proposed by Ctesiphon (if we can rely upon the dates as given in Demosthenes) in the autumn of B.C. 338, and the accusation of Æschines was lodged with the archon in the following spring, but was not called up for trial till eight years after, when the complete triumph of the Macedonian party at Athens led him to hope for success. See § 27, note.

13. *Ἀέξουσι*] That is, Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, in their replies. These anticipations of what an opponent would say are more common in ancient than in modern oratory. They abound particularly in this oration; so much so, that it is generally supposed, that many of them, with some other things, were added after the reply of Demosthenes was made. But as this was an old dispute, and turned mostly upon points which they had often discussed before with each other, and many of which, it is probable, were at issue between the two great parties, — the conservative and the revolutionary, — many of them, we may suppose, were real anticipations. But there can be no doubt that much was added by Æschines after the reply of Demosthenes was made. See §§ 180, 225. Demosthenes makes no attempt, in his reply, to avail himself of the distinction here referred to, but maintains the propriety of his being crowned, upon the ground that he had furnished, from his own private fortune, a large part of the money expended in his office as repairer of the walls of the city; and that others had been crowned in such cases, while undischarged of their office (see §§ 111–119 of his reply). It is probable, that the law upon this point, though such as here stated by Æschines, was often dispensed with on particular pretexts, and was rapidly going into disuse at the time of this trial. The nation had become so corrupt, that the laws were but cobwebs. — *ὥς ἄρα*] “that forsooth.” It generally indicates disbelief or contempt. See Dem. Pop. Orat., VIII. § 4, note. — *ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διαχορία*] These terms indicate certain temporary and subordinate kinds of public service, for which those who exercised them were not required



to render an account. Some seem to have contended (of whom Æschines would have it that Demosthenes was one), that all persons appointed to any duty by a special vote belonged to this class. — οἱ θεσμοθέται] “the Thesmothetæ,” i.e. the six inferior archons, — all except the eponymus, the king, and the polemarch. They superintended the lots for the election of nearly all the regular magistrates (ἄρχοντες) at the temple of Theseus. See Bojesen, p. 95. — ἀρχαιρεσίας] “assemblies for electing magistrates,” held, undoubtedly, at stated times, though the exact time is not known. See Schömann, Assemb. Ath., p. 395. — μετὰ τούτων] “connected with these.” — πραγματείας] “commissions.”

14. λύσειν ἡγούμενοι] “thinking to put an end to.” — τειχοποιός] This appears to have been a proper magistracy (see § 29), and hence not of a temporary character, but holding probably for a year. It consisted of one from each of the ten tribes. The appointment was made by the tribes, at the command of the people (see §§ 27, 31). Their business was to see that the walls and fortifications around Athens were kept in repair. Demosthenes seems to have been one of the ten commissioners for this purpose in the year of the battle of Chæronea, B.C. 338 (see § 27, note), and to have been employed in making some repairs on the walls immediately after that event. See the word in Smith’s Dict. Antiq. — ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων] That is, “the right of instituting the preliminary judicial investigations in all causes coming within their respective departments.” This right belonged to all magistrates, properly so called, in which capacity they were called εἰσαγωγεῖς (see εἰσαγωγεῖς in Smith’s Dict. Antiq.).

15. κελύει] That is, the decree, of which he had quoted the introductory part. — Οὐ . . . δικαστηρίῳ] “not to serve, but to exercise a magistracy, having been approved in the court.” Their office, then, was not a διακονία, but an ἀρχή (see § 13). But, before they could enter upon their office, they must pass the customary examination, or δοκιμασία, before the court. See Herm., § 148. — αἱ κληρωτὰ ἀρχαὶ] “the

magistrates chosen by lot." See § 13, note. — καὶ . . . λογιστάς] "and enter an account and proofs for the secretary and the accountants." Bremi supposes that, properly, διδόναι is understood with εὐθύνας, which is often expressed. See § 20. Λόγος (or λογισμός) was the account itself, and εὐθύναι the accompanying statements, designed to elucidate or prove it. It was somehow with reference to these two parts of the account, it is probable, that the two classes of examiners (Logistæ and Euthyni) received their appellations. The secretary referred to was, probably, what was called the scribe of the city, or of the Senate and people. See Boeckh's Pub. Econ. Ath., pp. 189–193; Schömann, p. 303. — ΝΟΜΟΙ] The documents are merely referred to by their titles in this oration, and not introduced. See the Appendix to my edition of Dem. de Corona.

16. ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ ἀντιτάττειν] "to call up and oppose." — ὑποβάλλειν] "to reply," "show." — τῷ τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ] "to the justice of the law." Opposed to τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀνασχηντίᾳ. The case is well put here, and the sentiment just.

17. Πρὸς δὲ . . . Δημοσθένους] "but with regard now to the invincible argument which Demosthenes speaks of." He had probably spoken of it in private circles, unless this be one of those passages added after the reply of Demosthenes. He does make use of this argument in his reply, and very plausibly at least, if not convincingly. It was expressly for his benefactions to the state that Ctesiphon purposed to crown him. See the decree of Ctesiphon, Dem. de Coron., § 119. — μῶς ἑκατὸν] A misrepresentation, or mistake (arising, perhaps, from confounding it with the sum he gave as manager of the Theoricon, Dem. de Coron., § 119). He gave, in this case, three talents, or *one hundred and eighty minæ*, besides other benefactions. See the above-named decree in Dem. "Hoc est oratorum Atticorum flagitium, ut adversarii quæ fecerunt laudabilia consulto deminuant et corrumpant." Bremi. — τὸ μέγεθος] "in size." Accusative of nearer definition. See § 77; also K. § 279. 7. — τῶν καὶ . . . προσεληλυθόντων]

“of those having come forward to the management of public affairs, even in any way whatever.”

18. ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων] “upon extreme cases,” “even in cases where it would not be expected.” — οἷον] “for instance.” This implies τοιόνδε, which, however, is more commonly understood, like other demonstratives in Greek. See Plato, Gorg., 464. A. — κατὰ σῶμα] “individually.” See § 27. — τὰ γέρα] That is, *the sacrifices, contributions, &c.*, presented at the temples. — τὰ γένη] “the families.” That is, certain families in which the priesthood was hereditary. — “By Κηρῶ-*κας* is intended the *gens*, out of which were selected the *sacred crier* and the *daduchus* at the Eleusinia, and to which the wealthy family of the Calliæ and Hipponici belonged. The Eumolpidæ held the dignity of hierophant at the same mystical feast, besides other honors. Consult M. H. E. Meir, *De Gentilitate Attica*, pp. 41–44 (Halle, 1835).” T. D. Woolsey.

19. τοὺς τριηράρχους] “the trierarchs,” i.e. citizens who were required to fit out galleys for the public service. They fitted them out at their own expense. See Dem. de Coron., § 99, note. — πολλὰ μὲν . . . τὰ ὑμέτερα] “filching much, while they lay out but little, and saying that they give of their own means (ἐπιδιδόναι), whereas they only give what is yours.” A hit at Demosthenes. Observe μὲν followed by δὲ repeated three times, distributing the clauses into pairs, contrasted among themselves and with each other. See § 31, note. — Their gift, he says, was not such, but a *bonâ-fide* one. — συνεδρίων] “of the Councils.” Such as that of the Areopagus and the Senate of Five Hundred, named below. — ὑπὸ . . . ψῆφον] “comes under the vote of the tribunals,” i.e. was held responsible to the people.

20. καὶ τὴν . . . ψῆφον] “and that august council there, arbiter of the weightiest matters, brings under your vote.” The text varies here; but this is the reading adopted by Bekker, and seems the most satisfactory, on the whole. — Οὐκ ἄρα . . . τρυφῶσι] “Shall not, then, the Council of Areopagus be crowned? (i.e. since their high character might



justly claim it.) No; for it is not a hereditary right to them. Are they not ambitious, then? Most assuredly; but they are not satisfied if one of their number merely does no wrong, whereas, if he does wrong, they punish him (i.e. their strict notions of merit keep them from such aspirations), while your orators put on airs, *or* run riot in their demands for public honors." This is the best interpretation which I can give of this obscure passage.

21. *μὴ ἀποδημήσω;*] "may I not leave the country?" Questions asked by *μή* require a negative answer. See K. § 344. 5. d. — *Ἰνα γε . . . χρήσῃ*] "No, lest, perchance, having embezzled the public money, or executed slightly the business of your office, you may take to flight." *προλαβὼν*, by zeugma, is taken in different senses with *χρήματα* and *πράξεις*. — *καθιεροῦν*] "to devote to sacred purposes." Because it was not certain that all his property would not be required to settle his account with the state. — *ἐκποιήτον*] "adopted." Because no one could be adopted who had not the right of citizenship; and, if one failed in giving a satisfactory account of his office, he lost this right. See Herm., Polit. Antiq., § 124.

23. *Τίς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν;*] At the passing of one's accounts before the Logistæ, a general invitation was given to all to bring forward any charges which they might have against the magistrate relative to the exercise of his office. — *δέκα τάλαντα*] There were ten commissioners for this purpose, one from each tribe. Whether Demosthenes had this sum assigned to him alone, or only his proportion, is a little uncertain. Æschines himself, in another place (§ 31, *μικροῦ δεῖν δέκα τάλαντα*), abates somewhat from the sum here named. See Boeckh, p. 204. — *ὅστερος*] "after," "in conformity with." Opposed to *ἐμπροσθεν*.

24. *οὗτοι*] Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, both of whom would reply; Ctesiphon first, as being the one directly arraigned, and then Demosthenes, as deeply implicated. — *μέχρι . . . μοι*] "let it thus far have been spoken by me," i.e. "I have thus far spoken, and this must suffice." It expresses the state

resulting from a perfected action, as well as the action itself. K. § 255, R. 6. — *ὄντος*] Ctesiphon. — *ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ*] “over the theoric fund.” A large fund, devoted to defraying the expenses of theatrical and other entertainments for the people. See Smith’s Dict. Antiq., art. *Theorica*. — *ἤδη*] “immediately,” “now at length.” And thus, generally, *ἤδη* refers to time just past or just to come. It often implies that it is in some way out of season, i.e. too early or too late, like the Latin *jam*. See Dem. Pop. Orat., I. § 9, *fin.*; Xen. Anab., I. 3. 1. — *ἐπὶ*] “under,” or, more strictly, “upon.” It denotes time, or a course of events, as *dependent upon* some person (lit. “during the course of events *dependent upon* what archon”). — *ἀλίσκοιτο*] “should be convicted.” This verb serves as the passive of *αἰρεῖν* (see *αἰρεῖ*, following).

25. *ἀντιγραφεὺς*] “checking-clerk,” “comptroller,” i.e. of the accounts of the collectors of the revenues. This was the *ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς*. See Boeckh’s Pub. Econ., p. 188. — *Εὐβουλον*] An orator at Athens, who had great power with the people. The theoric fund was one of his hobbies for gaining popular favor. He was one of the leaders of the peace party, and, for a long time, a most active enemy of Demosthenes. — *ἔρχον*] “exercised.” — *Ἡγήμωρος*] An illiterate demagogue at Athens, attached to the interest of Philip. — *ἀποδεκτῶν*] “collectors and disbursers of the public money,” “paymasters.” There were ten of these. See Boeckh, p. 159. — *νεωρίων*] “dockyards.” An abstract connected with a concrete noun. Thus not unfrequently in Æschines. See in Timarch., § 5, *τῶν τυράννων καὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν* (*ὀλιγαρχικῶν* is the conjecture of Taylor, and adopted by Bekker). This concentration of offices in the managers of the theoric fund was to give them sufficient power to prevent the diversion of the fund to other purposes. Such an unnatural amalgamation of offices could not have continued long. See Dict. Antiq., art. *Theorica*.

26. *ἀντῶν*] Eubulus and Hegemon. — *ἀπάσας*] As described above.

27. ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε] “inflicted penalties,” usually *finēs* of trifling amount. This was evidence of his holding a magistracy. See Lys. Orat. in Nicom., § 3. — Ἐπὶ, κ. τ. λ.] There is some difficulty in reconciling the designations of time here given with others pertaining to the same events. The facts in the case seem to be these: Chærondas was well known to have been eponymus in the year of the battle of Chæronea (B.C. 338–337). That battle was fought in the *second* month of the year of Chærondas (Metageitnion, August, 338). The decree of Ctesiphon to crown Demosthenes was proposed in October of the same year (Dem. de Coron., § 119); and Æschines lodged his accusation of Ctesiphon with the archon in the following March (Dem. de Coron., § 54), the *ninth* month (March, 337) of the year of Chærondas. If, now, Demosthenes was not appointed *τειχοποιός* until the following Skirophorion (the following June, the *last* month of the year of Chærondas), as seems to be stated here, he did not hold the office at the time it was proposed to crown him, and hence was not responsible. Nor is it consistent with the language here employed (without some intermediate explanation, as below) to suppose, with Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, vol. ii. p. 446), that the reference is merely to the fact of his *being* in office at that time, and not that he was then *appointed* (see καὶ ἐπέταξεν . . . ἐλέσθαι . . . ταμίας). The appointment, then, must have been made at the close of the preceding year; and, as it is hardly probable that the true eponymus of this year would have been given as the *pseudeponymus* of the preceding, I would suggest, whether (since he was appointed at the very end of the previous year, and *for* this year) the phrase Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου was not unconsciously used, by way of anticipation, with reference to the time of his *holding* the office, and not to the time of his *appointment*. Demosthenes, it is true (De Coron., § 248), speaks of his having procured the appropriation of the money for the repair of the walls *after* the battle of Chæronea, but not of his appointment to the office of *τειχοποιός* at that time.



The office held probably for a year (see § 14, note). — *δεντέρα φθίνοντος*] “the last day but one;” of this month, “the twenty-ninth day.” For the mode of reckoning the days of the month at Athens, see Dem. de Coron., § 29, note. — *ἀγορὰν*] Often used thus for an assembly of the tribes or demes. — *ἐκάστης*] Partitive genitive (“to elect of each of the tribes”). — *ταμίας*] “treasurers.” All such offices, which involved the handling of the public money, were furnished with treasurers. See Boeckh, p. 171. — *σώματα*] See § 18.

28. *ἀντιδιαπλέκει*] “he gives the artful *or* disingenuous reply.” — *ἔλαχε τειχοποιῶς*] Understand *εἶναι* (lit. “did not have the lot to be repairer of the walls,” “was not chosen by lot”). Thus often. Demosthenes, in his reply, makes no use of this argument, that he was not chosen to the office by the people, but by his tribe. See § 13, note.

29. *τῶν περὶ . . . τρία*] “there are three kinds of magistrates.” The article, followed by *περὶ* and an abstract noun, is often equivalent to the corresponding concrete noun, as in the very common phrases, *οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, γραμματικὴν, ῥητορικὴν, &c.*, = *οἱ φιλόσοφοι, &c.* The first class of magistrates named (*οἱ κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοὶ*) were either chosen by lot or by hand vote, upon the nomination of the archon, at assemblies appointed for the purpose; and the other two classes, either by special vote of the people, or by the tribes or demes at the command of the people: these were called *αἰρητοί*. See Schöm., *Assemb. Ath.*, p. 294.

30. *καταλείπεται*] “it remains.” — *τριτῆς*] “thirds,” i.e. of the tribes. There were twelve *τριτῆς*, founded, probably, upon the four original tribes in Attica. This division was probably retained for financial purposes. See Herm., *Polit. Antiq.*, § 99. 5.

31. *μὲν . . . δὲ . . . δ' . . . δὲ . . . δὲ . . . δὲ*] All the clauses stand opposed to that with *μὲν*, which contains the fundamental truth upon which all the others hang and become significant. But, at the same time that they are all opposed to the first, the separate parts stand opposed to each other, and

should be so rendered as to bring out this contrast ("whereas . . . and also . . . while . . . and at the same time . . . when finally"). See Jelf's K. § 770. 2. — ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως] "from the appropriation." The points thus far established are very concisely and ably summed up here. This closes the first count in the indictment, — *the illegality of proposing to crown a magistrate before he is discharged of the accounts of his office.*

33. σεμνύνεσθαι . . . ἔξωθεν] "to magnify himself, or put on airs, before strangers," i.e. by having the proclamation of his being crowned made in the theatre at the great Dionysiac festival (as was proposed in the decree of Ctesiphon), which was attended by people from all parts of Greece. See Smith's Dict. Antiq., art. *Dionysia*. — ἐργολαβεῖν] "to work for pay," "to seek personal advantage and glory."

34. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ . . . ἐκκλησίᾳ] "among the people in Pnyx, the assembly." τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ seems to be in apposition with the two preceding nouns, or else it must mean here the *place* of the assembly, and be in apposition with Πνυκί. The Pnyx was a semicircular excavation in the side of a hill, a little to the west of the Acropolis, inclosed by a low wall, and entirely open above. This was the place for the meetings of the Assembly of Athens in her best days. See Wordsworth's Athens, pp. 65, seq. — τραγωδῶν . . . καινῶν] That is, at the Great Dionysia, occurring in some years at the very end of March, and in others early in April, when new tragedies were represented. The expression, therefore, designates the time.

35. παραταχθεὶς . . . νόμοις] "having been in concert with Demosthenes, will assail the laws by cunning devices." — ἵνα . . . ἐξαπατηθέντες] "that you may not unconsciously be deceived." See K. § 310. 4. 1. — μὴ κηρύττειν] After words of a negative and prohibitive signification, the Greek employs another negative (μὴ) with the following infinitive, when we do not. Generally, too, where the negative verb is accompanied, as here, by οὐκ, or some other negative word, μὴ οὐ, instead of μὴ alone, is found with the infinitive. K. § 318. 8

and 10. — τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον] This is the law by which Demosthenes justifies the proposition to proclaim his crown in the theatre, a fragment of which is given in his reply (§ 120). It is evident from all the reasoning of Æschines upon it, that there was such a law, and that it was not obsolete. But there appear to have been different interpretations put upon one part of it. After forbidding any who were crowned by the tribes or the demes being proclaimed in the theatre, it seems to have added, as Dissen (Dem. de Coron., § 120) supposes (see also §§ 44, 47): μηθ' ὑπ' ἄλλον μηδενός (ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον), ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα, πλὴν εἰάν τις ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται· τούτους δ' ἀναγορεύετω. The exception here made, Æschines (see §§ 47, 48), by a rather forced process of reasoning, as it seems to me, applies to crowns bestowed upon Athenian citizens by other states. Such, he says, might indeed be proclaimed in the theatre, if the Senate or people voted so. At all events, it is obvious that the clause is capable of a different interpretation, as applicable to special cases, where there was an express vote to proclaim a crown in the theatre. Besides, there can be no doubt that this was the common understanding of the passage, and that crowns were often bestowed to be proclaimed in accordance with it (see Dem. de Coron., §§ 83, 213). And, in general, it is plain, that, both upon this and the previous point, while the common law, and perhaps common usage, were on the side of Æschines, special laws and usage were on the side of Ctesiphon. If there was no law and no usage in his favor, why was the proposition made in this form, when substantially the same ends might have been gained in a legal way? For certainly the mere place of the proclamation of the crown was of no account; and even according to Æschines (§ 31), if he had only added to the proposition to crown him, "when he has rendered up his accounts," the decree would have been legal on that point. In short, one familiar with the history of Athens at this period, and with all the circumstances connected with the present trial, cannot



help feeling, to say the least, that the decree of Ctesiphon was not so inconsistent with the laws and usages of the times as to have provoked a prosecution from any one but an im-bittered enemy. And it is in this light that Demosthenes treats it in his reply (see §§ 12-16, 121, *et al.*).

37. *συνηγόρους*] “as supporters *or* advocates.” — *ὅπερ δια-τελῶ σπουδάζων*] “which I continually aim at *or* strive after,” i.e. to sustain all his points by laws. — *ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν*] “*Lenis est metathesis pro εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ὑμῶν.*” Bremi.

38. *οὔτε ἡμέλῃται*] “nor has it been overlooked.” — *τῷ νομοθέτῃ*] See § 6, note. — *τοῖς θεσμοθέταις*] The Thesmothetæ (see § 13, note) were required to review the laws every year, that they might detect any inconsistencies or superfluities in them, and report upon the same to the people, who referred the necessary alterations to a committee called Nomothetæ. See Dict. Antiq. — *διορθοῦν*] “to rectify,” i.e. see that there were no conflicting or abrogated laws in the public records. See above. — *ἀναγέγραπται*] “*Id est, κεῖται, ἔστιν: verbum proprium de legislatione.*” Bremi.

39. *σανίσω*] That is, the *tablets* upon which the laws that needed revision were inscribed and exposed (*ἐκτιθέναι*) before the statutes of the Eponymi (*Ἐπωνύμων*). — *ἐπιγράφαντας νομοθέτας*] “having inscribed *upon the call* (i.e. designated) Nomothetæ.” This interpretation seems to me preferable to that of Schömann (*Assemb. Ath.*, p. 249), which makes these words merely indicate the general subject to be attended to at the meeting (“having inscribed *upon the programme*, i.e. as the subject of the meeting, ‘*Nomothetæ*’”). The assembling of the Nomothetæ seems to have been intrusted to the prytanes (see *Dem. contr. Timoc.*, § 27), just as the assembling of the people was. The Nomothetæ were taken from such of the people as acted as jurymen for the year (consisting, perhaps, of one or more divisions of these), and were, at one time, a thousand and one in number. Business was done before them, as in a regular assembly of the people, of whom they constituted a part. I would suggest, therefore, that *τῷ δήμῳ*,

in the following clause (also, ἐκκλησίαν above), refers to them only; and that they, with the presiding officers and the advocates on each side, constituted the assembly which was to be called. If this be so, the language of Æschines becomes consistent with that of Demosthenes (contr. Timoc. §§ 27, seq.) in his account of the annual revision of the laws, and is to be regarded as a rapid and abridged statement of the same process. Hence, it is not necessary to suppose, with Schömann (Assemb. Ath., p. 248), that the reference here is to a *second* revision of the laws, at the direction of the Thesmothetæ, different from the ordinary annual revision, which in itself is very improbable, and is based upon this passage alone. See Schömann, pp. 246–249.

40. παρὰ] “from,” “coming from,” i.e. “uttered by.” — ἦτοι . . . ἦ] “Hoc ordine semper leguntur hæ particulæ, non vice versa ἦ . . . ἦτοι. Prius membrum est vel admirantis vel mirantis, interdum tota disjunctio admirantis.” Bremi. — ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι] “unable to be,” “which cannot be.” But it will be observed, that the two laws, even as interpreted by Demosthenes, are not ἐναντίοι, but one is merely exceptive to the other.

41. ἐν ᾧσται] This, standing between the article and its noun, has an attributive relation to the noun (“the city plays”). These were distinguished from the country plays, both as to time and magnificence. This view of the case relieves the passage from all appearance of being a solecism, since the meaning becomes “the city plays being held,” “during the city plays,” instead of “the plays being in the city.” — οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον] That is, without the vote of the people.

42. προξενίας . . . εὐρηγμένοι] “having obtained the rights of a πρόξενος.” — εἰ οὕτω τύχοι] “perchance.” — ὁ τῶν Ποδίων] That is, ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ποδίων.

43. τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δὲ] For the usage of μὲν and δέ, see § 12, note.

44. ἡνωχλεῖτο] For the augment before the preposition, see

K. § 126. 1. — *περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων*] In connection with the interpretation here given of the provisions of the law, see § 35, note.

45. *μὴ κηρύττεσθαι*] See § 35, note. — *ἐρανίζων*] “begging.” — *ἀπούσης βουλῆς, κ. τ. λ.*] “the council being left out,” or “aside from the council,” &c. The part. expresses a condition. K. § 312. 4. d.

46. *ἂν . . . ἀναρῶθῃ*] “may have been proclaimed.” — *ἱερὸν εἶναι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς*] “to be a votive offering to Athene.” Just as the tripods of the victors in certain games were devoted to Apollo, and of the *Choregi* at the Dionysia to Dionysus. I do not see, therefore, how this proves that foreign crowns are alluded to, unless it proves the same in the other case. — *τοσαύτην . . . Ἀθηναίων*] “to charge upon the people of Athens so great illiberality.” Verbs of accusing, when compounded with *κατά*, take the person in the genitive. K. § 292, R. 1. — *Μὴ γὰρ ὅτι . . . ἀλλ’ οὐδ’*] “*Μή* ellipticum est: *Μὴ γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνετε, ὅτι ἂν γένοιτο πόλις, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἂν ιδιώτης . . . γένοιτο*, ne opinemini civitatem fore, sed ne fuerit quidem privatus tam illiberalis.” Bremi. — *τὴν ψυχὴν*] Accusative of nearer definition. So below, § 47. K. § 279. 7.

47. *οὐκ . . . ουδεὶς*] Observe the double negative, — one a direct negative, and the other a negative pronoun. Thus generally in Greek. K. § 318. 6. — *τῶν στεφανούντων*] Instead of the more common construction of *ῆ* with the dat.

48. *Τὸ γὰρ . . . λέγε*] “for say all the day what that *ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ* means,” i.e. spend the whole day in endeavoring to explain it away. This closes the second count in the indictment, — *the illegality of the proposition to proclaim the crown in the theatre.*

49. *ἐφ’ ᾧ μάλιστα σπουδάζω*] “upon which I am specially earnest.” He now enters upon the discussion of the merits of Demosthenes, which had been put forward as the ground of the proposed honor. Upon this point he lays the greatest stress, and bestows his principal strength.



50. μετὰ ταῦτα] “after these things,” i.e. from this point. — κρῖναι εὐμαθής] “intelligible to judge.” — τὸν μὲν . . . ἐμέ] “me, the accuser.” — κατὰ Δημοσθένους] “Κατά proprie motum ex superiore loco in inferiorem locum significat; hinc tropice vel de vituperiis vel de laudibus dicitur, quæ quasi deijciuntur in aliquem, et facile intelligitur significationem malam esse frequentiore. Interdum tamen etiam in ejusmodi locutionibus reperitur, in quibus aut omnino significat quod attinet ad, aut in favorem, honorem. Vide § 241.” Bremi. — τὴν γραφὴν ἀλώσεται] “will be convicted on the indictment.” ἀλίσκεσθαι usually takes the genitive of the crime or charge, like other verbs of convicting. For this construction, see § 232, note. — ἅπαντες . . . ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι] He denies that the merits of Demosthenes were such as described in the decree of Ctesiphon, and hence that his decree was illegal. This, therefore, is the third point to be made out, — *the illegality of the decree of Ctesiphon, on account of its false statement of the merits of Demosthenes.* — τὸναντίον τούτου] “the opposite of this.” Governed by δεικτέον ἐστίν.

51. ταῦτα] “these things,” i.e. what follows. — τὴν τοῦ τραύματος γραφὴν] “the prosecution for wounding.” Such causes were tried before the Areopagus, and, in order to be sustained, required that purpose or forethought (προνοία) should be proved. Of the particular case here referred to, nothing is known, as far as I am aware, beyond what is here said. — τὴν Κηφισοδότου στρατηγίαν] An Athenian general sent with a squadron to the Hellespont, who was supposed to have sacrificed the Athenian interests to Charidemus, in the terms upon which he received Alopecconesus, and was deprived of his command in consequence. See the account of the affair in Dem. contr. Aristoc., pp. 675, seq.] Demosthenes appears to have been in the squadron, and to have been honored by the presence of the general in the vessel (flag-ship) which he had equipped as trierarch. But I see nothing in this circumstance which should have prevented

him from becoming his accuser, if he thought him guilty of the crime charged upon him. There does, however, seem to have been a sort of severity in the character of Demosthenes, as is evident from what Æschines says of him in this and other places, such as is often conjoined with a strong will and vigorous intellect, and uncompromising moral principles.

52. ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας] “by the process called εἰσαγγελία.” See § 3, note. — καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη, κ. τ. λ.] This affair with Midias seems to have been much more disgraceful on the part of his adversary than on that of Demosthenes. Midias was a wealthy and influential citizen, who, with a sort of purse-proud insolence, undertook to domineer over Demosthenes, and annoy him in every possible way, till he finally struck him with his fist (κονδύλους) while acting as χορηγός in the theatre. Demosthenes brought against him a criminal action called *proboule*, and obtained a sort of preliminary decision of the people (καταχειροτονίαν) in his favor. He soon after, according to the better opinion, prosecuted him before the regular tribunals, and delivered the speech against him still extant; but probably, on account of his great influence and that of his friends, thought best to accept from him the self-imposed fine of thirty minæ before the final passing of the sentence by the judges. See Grote, chap. 88. For the nature and object of the καταχειροτονία, spoken of in the text, see Schöm., Assemb. Ath., p. 230.

53. τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαριζόμενος] “Καταχαρίζεσθαι est prodehere aliquid contra jus fasque in gratiam alicujus.” Bremi. — ἀπαντήσῃ] “may fall to,” “may be awarded to.” Being intransitive, it is constructed like a passive verb. K. § 249. 3. — ὅτῳ] “against whomsoever.” Dat. of disadvantage.

54. Περὶ δὲ] δὲ stands opposed to μὲν at the beginning of § 51, where he commences speaking of the private misdeeds of Demosthenes, as he here proposes to speak of his public misdeeds. — ὁ λόγος] “the speech,” i.e. “the customary opportunity of replying.” — ὡς ἄρα] See § 137, note. Demosthenes makes no such division of his public life, but considers

the history of the first two periods as wholly irrelevant to the cause, and hence, after having briefly replied to some of the charges of Æschines pertaining to them, commences at the third period. See De Coron., § 6, note. — “Not one of these periods presented even decent encouragement for a reasonable Athenian patriot to involve his country in warfare with so formidable an enemy.” Grote. — ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐπολεμοῦμεν] That is, eleven years, from B.C. 346 to 335, — from the taking of Amphipolis by Philip to the peace of Philocrates, here spoken of.

55. ἡγομεν] “we were enjoying.” The peace continued, nominally, seven years, till B.C. 339, when Demosthenes, after Philip had virtually been at war with them for years, finally induced the Athenians formally to renew hostilities with him. — τῆς ἀτυχίας] “the mishap.” A euphemism. The reference is to the unfortunate battle of Chæronea, in which the Athenians and Thebans received a signal defeat from Philip, that secured his supremacy in Greece. This occurred in the year following the renewal of hostilities. The fourth period referred to is that of the humiliation of Athens under Philip and Alexander, which ensued. — ἐγκαλύπτωμαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκω] “cover my face (i.e. from shame), and slink away.” In other places, ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι means, “to cover the face *from grief*,” i.e. to grieve.

56. ἰσχυρίζεται] “Ἰσχυρίζεσθαι de pertinace dicitur, qui superbe et importune, non argumentorum pondere, sed sua unius auctoritate nixus, aliquid ita esse asseverat, ut ipse pronuntiet, et mendacia dicere eos, qui aliud quid affirmant.” Bremi. — σοι] Governed by ἀποκρίνομαι, below. — καιρῶν] This denotes that *relative to which* he accused him. Thus also § 55; (K. § 273. 4, f.). Generally, κατηγορεῖν governs the gen. of person and acc. of thing. K. § 292. R.

57. καὶ γὰρ] That is, “and if I.” The influence of ἂν extends to this clause also. — ἃ σοι σύνοιδα] “which I know in common with you.” — τοὺς φιλανθρωπῶπως . . . χορησαμένους] “Intelligit sobriam et humanam rerum civilium rationem, alienam



a superbia et arrogantia." Bremi. — τάξει] "order," "arrangement." — Καὶ δὴ . . . εἰρήνην] "and now I take myself back to the peace." δὴ is employed here in resuming the discourse at the point from which he had departed. Thus often.

58. τὴν προτέραν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην] That is, the peace of Philocrates, made with Philip at the close of the Amphipolitan war (B.C. 346); as distinguished from the peace of Demades, made after the battle of Chæronea (B.C. 338). — κοινῶν συνεδρίων Ἑλλήνων] That is, a congress, not only of the regular allies of Athens, but of as many of the Greek states as they could induce to join them in conducting their negotiations with Philip. This is evident from what follows, as well as from *Æsch. de F. L.*, p. 35. It is clear that Demosthenes, for certain reasons (see Thirlwall, chap. 44), was anxious to conclude the peace as soon as possible; but that he prevented its being made in conjunction with a common council of the Greeks, is not so clear. The facts in the case, after weighing carefully the contradictory statements of the rival orators, seem to be something as follow. *Æschines* proposed such a council about a year before the discussions upon the peace, and, in pursuance of his plan, himself went on an embassy to Megalopolis (*Dem. de F. L.*, p. 344); but, as is evident from his own statement (*F. L.*, p. 38), the plan was never carried out, or was unsuccessful, as none came to their aid up to the time of the proposed peace. As to the pretence of *Æschines*, that certain ambassadors were out, at the time of the discussions on the peace, for the purpose of inviting the co-operation of the other states, and that the congress of the allies at Athens proposed at that time (see *Æsch. de F. L.*, p. 35) to wait till their return, this seems improbable on many grounds, but, especially, is contradicted by *Æschines* himself, in the account which he gives of the contents of the decree of the allies, in the present oration (§ 70), and is expressly denied by Demosthenes (*De Coron.*, §§ 23, 24). There was, however, as is admitted by both orators, a congress of Greeks at Athens at that time, which, therefore,

must have been wholly, or mostly, a congress of the regular allies of Athens. And these, as it would seem from an expression of Demosthenes (F. L., § 16), had been called together in pursuance of the plan of Æschines, above named. Possibly, too, some of the ambassadors had not yet returned, though enough, certainly, to show a general failure. This view of the case, it is believed, will sufficiently account for all the statements of the rival orators on the point.—*τινες*] That is, Demosthenes and his party.—*ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες*] Lit., “were, having sent out,” i.e. “had sent out.” The periphrastic form expresses better the state of *expectancy*, which he pretends they were in, in *consequence* of the embassies which they had despatched.—*καὶ . . . ἀπολαβεῖν*] To be joined with *ποιήσασθαι*, before the intermediate clauses.—*τὴν ἡγεμονίαν*] “the primacy,” “the supremacy.” That is, “a leading and controlling position among the Greek states.”

59. *ἐξαίφνης*] “suddenly,” “unexpectedly.” This shows that the public sentiment was in danger of being shocked by the charge of corruption made against Demosthenes. Demosthenes, in his reply (§ 227), in alluding to the figure of the accounts, which follows, makes an admirable use of the current opinion in his favor, which is so clearly implied in the language of Æschines.—*ἐκείνως*] “in that way,” “thus,” i.e. as in the case of the accounts. It is used instead of *οὕτως*, because it refers to the illustration, and hence to what is more remote, like *ἐκεῖνος*. It is more fully explained by the sentence with *οὕτω*, at the beginning of § 60.—*χορημάτων ἀνηλωμένων*] “money expended,” i.e. by some one to whom it had been intrusted.—*ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς*] “for the accounts,” i.e. to obtain the results of casting up the account.—*συγκεφαλαιωθῆ*] “may have been summed up.”—*ὅστις*] Strictly *ὥστε* is required here, to correspond to *οὕτω*; but the adjective clause is often used in place of the adverbial clause, introduced by *ὥστε*. K. § 334. 2.—*αἰοῦ*] “may establish,” “prove.”

60, 61. *ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων*] “from the former times,” “in former times.” To be connected with *ἔχοντες* rather than

ἡγούσιν, but perhaps influenced by that to take ἐκ for ἐν. However, see Dem. Pop. Orat., p. 148 (Philip. I. § 1). — ἀπογνώτω . . . καταγνώτω] “Judicandi verba, quæ cum ἀπό composita sunt, significationem habent absolvendi, quæ cum κατά, condemnandi.” Bremi. — πρὶν ἀκούσῃ] The subj. after πρὶν is occasionally found thus without ἄν in the Attic writers. K. § 337, R. 3. — μὲν (πλείω μὲν) . . . δὲ . . . δὲ . . . δὲ] See § 31. — ἐξ ἀρχῆς] Bears an attributive relation to εἰρήνης (“the *original* peace,” i.e. the first peace, or the peace in its incipient state). — οὐκ ἀναμείναντα] “not waiting for,” i.e. actually inviting him to send ambassadors, as described in § 63.

62. ἐγράφη παρὰ νόμων] “was accused of illegality,” “was indicted as illegal.” Thus generally the pass. of γράφειν is used; so in the middle, “indicting.” See γραψάμενος, following. — συναπελογεῖτο . . . Δημοσθένης] This does not seem to imply any *political* connection with Philocrates, any more than the defending of one in our courts implies such a connection with him. — ὁ χρόνος] That is, *the time* for making the peace, which is here the chief point in view. — οὔτε λαχὼν . . . πριάμενος] “having obtained the place neither as principal nor substitute, but having purchased it by arrangement.” The reference seems to be to the abuse of the lottery principle, before alluded to (§ 3, note). In choosing public officers, substitutes were chosen to take the place of the principal, in case of his failure for any reason, which accounts for the use of λαχὼν and ἐπιλαχὼν. — εἰς ὑποδοχὴν] “by way of supporting.”

63. Νικᾷ] “carries” (lit. “conquers”). So also with γνώμη, as Plat. Gorg. 456. A: οἱ νικῶντες τὰς γνώμας. — ἐν ᾧ . . . πρέσβεις] This was the first embassy (περὶ εἰρήνης). — σπείσασθαι] “to give pledges of safe conduct to,” i.e. in coming to Athens and returning. — ἀκόλουθα] “in keeping with *Philocrates*, i.e. in keeping with what Philocrates proposed. It is of the nature of what is called the *compendious comparison*. K. § 323, R. 6.



64. *Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα*] Lit. "the after these things," "in relation to what followed." An adverbial acc. K. § 279, R. 10. — *Ἐπράττετο*] "it was effected," "brought about." This, it will be observed, is followed by *ὥπως μή*, first with the subj. (*περιμείνητε, ποιήσθητε*), and then with the fut. (*ψηφιεῖσθε*). This is to give greater animation to the discourse, representing what was past as present. K. § 330, R. 1. The subj. and fut. differ in this, that the fut. represents the idea as definite and actual, while the subj. represents it as contingent. K. § 330. 6. This charge of co-operating with Philocrates Demosthenes expressly denies, and throws it upon Æschines and his friends. See *De Coron.*, § 21. — *πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, κ. τ. λ.*] *πρὸς*, "by management with," "by means of." This sense grows out of the original meaning of *πρὸς* (in the presence of). — *συκοφαντηθέντας*] "slandered." — *ἕσπερον*] That is, after their return from the second embassy, when Demosthenes accused his colleagues, and especially Æschines, of malversation. See the orations of Demosthenes and Æschines, *De Falsa Legatione*. — *παρακαλοῦντες*] Fut. part. "to stir up," i.e. the Greeks (see § 68). Refers back to the subject of *περιμείνητε* (i.e. the Athenians), and not to *πρόσβεις*.

65. *προσέχοιεν . . . ὑμετέρῳ*] "should favor your democracy," i.e. the cause of the Athenians. *προσέχειν* in this sense usually has *τὸν νοῦν* (lit. "to turn the attention to") with it. See *Dem. Olynth. II.*, § 13; *Philip. I.*, § 6. *τῷ πλήθει* does not denote mere *multitude*, but the *character* of the Athenian party. (See *Xen. Mem. I. 2. 43.*) Athens was the rallying-point for all the democratical states. — *Κερσόβλεπτης*] Why Cersobleptes was not included in the treaty of peace with Philip, is uncertain. The reason here assigned is the least probable of all. Cersobleptes may not have been fairly entitled to be considered as an ally of Athens, and, as such, was excluded by Philip, according to the terms of the treaty (see Thirlwall, chap. 44). He seems to have been omitted by Philip in his oaths, by collusion with the majority of the ambassadors. See Grote's *Hist.*, chap. 89. His ruin,

together with that of the Phocians, is ascribed by Demosthenes, with great plausibility, to the unnecessary delays made by Æschines and his friends in obtaining the ratification of the treaty from Philip. See De Coron., §§ 30-40. — Παρηγγέλλετο . . . στρατεία] “But already an expedition (i.e. made by Philip) was announced against him (Cersobleptes).”

66. ὁ μὲν ἐξωνούμενος] That is, Philip. *He* did nothing out of the way, the orator says, in purchasing these advantages, but the traitors who sold them to him deserved eternal reprobation. — μισαλέξανδρος . . . μισοφιλίππος] Adjectives formed from proper names, as verbs often are, in Greek. — ὁ τὴν . . . Ἀλεξάνδρον] See the keen retort of Demosthenes on this point, De Coron., §§ 51, 52. — τῇ ὁρδῇ . . . μηνός] For the method of reckoning the days of the months at Athens, see Dem. de Coron., § 29, note.

67. ὅτ' ἦν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, κ. τ. λ.] This, of course, indicates haste; but it is admitted that Demosthenes was anxious to conclude the peace as soon as possible, and for good reasons. See § 58. — “The Æsculapia are called a προαγών, as being a sort of introduction or prelude to the great feast of the Dionysia immediately following.” T. D. Woolsey.

68. τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει] The city Dionysia were the Great Dionysia, which, it seems from this place compared with § 67, occurred somewhere between the 8th and 18th of Elaphebolion. Besides this festival to Dionysus, there were also the Lesser Dionysia, the Lenæa, and the Anthesteria. See Dem. de Coron., § 54, note.

69. Ἐπειδὴ . . . ἐκκλησίαι] “When now, Athenians, the Dionysia had passed, — but in the mean time there were two assemblies.” What intervenes between Διονύσια and the beginning of § 71 is a sort of parenthesis, consisting of intermediate clauses preparing the way for the apodosis to the clause beginning with Ἐπειδὴ. However, on account of the great number of these intermediate clauses, the structure of the sentence is changed, and what is the apodosis in sense is expressed independently. The main idea is, that when the

festival of Dionysus had passed, and the assemblies occurred, he advocated the decree of the allies. But this main idea is modified by the intervening clauses. This anacoluthon, as it were, accounts for the use of δὲ after ἐγίγνωτο. For a similar construction after ἐπειδή, see Dem. de Coron., § 126. But President Woolsey (Biblioth. Sac., July, 1850) thinks that δὲ here belongs to the apodosis, as in Thucyd. 2. 65. — ἔγραψαν] Supply οἱ σύμμαχοι from τῶν συμμάχων. — καὶ] “even” (“even the peace, *much more the alliance*”).

70. ἰασόμενοι] “intending to cure or remedy.” Fut. part. — καὶ προσέγραψαν, κ. τ. λ.] This, probably, is the true account of the purport of the decree of the allies. See § 58. — στήλην] “Suidas: στήλη ἢ λίθος ἢ χαλκὸς ἐπιμήκης, τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἰδρυμένος. Quicquid publicæ memoriæ mandari volebant, ejusmodi columnis inscribebatur. Cujus rei varia exempla habet Suidas.” Bremi. — τριμήνον] An adjective agreeing with περιόδον or προθεσμίας, understood.

71. πάντες] Understand συνεῖπον, to be supplied from συνεπειν. K. § 346. 2, a. — προκαταλαμβάνων . . . βῆμα] But how can this be, when Æschines himself, in another place (F. L., § 69), says, that, by a decree of Demosthenes, no speaking was allowed on the second day?

72. ἀπορήξαι] “to break,” “to separate.” Depends upon δεῖν. I see nothing so harsh in the metaphor as Æschines affects to find (διὰ τὴν ἀγδίαν). See § 166, note. — τελευτῶν] “finally.” See Dem. Pop. Orat., VIII. § 49, note. — Ἀντίπατρον] One of Philip’s ambassadors, probably the same who was afterwards one of the generals of Alexander. — προεπιπὼν . . . ἀποκρίνασθαι] That is, by a previous arrangement between them. — τέλος] “in the end,” “finally.” Adverbial acc. Often used thus. See Soph. Antig., 233. — ἐνίκη] “prevailed.” Takes ταῦτ’ as nom., and has no object. Thus often. See Dem. Philip. I., § 51.

73. αὐτοῖς] Demosthenes and Philocrates. — τὸν . . . ποιῆσαι] “to abandon the region on the coast of Thrace,” i.e. the Cherronesus. For τόπος = regio, see Dem. Pop. Orat., IV.



§ 32. The periphrasis *ἐκδοτον ποιῆσαι* is equivalent to *ἐκδοῦναι*. — *ἐκτῇ φθίνοντος*] That is, as Elaphebolion had twenty-nine days in this year (see Franke's Chronological Table to the Philippics), the *twenty-fourth day*. On this day (see § 74) the allies were required to confirm the treaty; that is, five days after it was voted in the Assembly.

74. *Λαρθάρει . . . παρεγγράψας*] “slyly inserts.” Lit. “escapes, having inserted.” — *ἐν ᾧ*] “in which,” i.e. the objectionable clause referred to.

75. *πρόεδρος*] “presiding officer.” See § 3. The reference is to Demosthenes. — *Καλόν . . . φυλακῇ*] The public records at Athens were kept, under the custody of the public scribe, in the Metroum, or temple of the mother of the gods, the key of which was intrusted to the care of the president of the presiding tribe for the time being (*ἐπιστάτης*). See Schöm., *Assemb. Ath.*, p. 131. — *αὐτομολοῦσιν*] “*αὐτομολεῖν* proprie dicuntur milites, qui ad hostes transfugiunt. In re civili facile transfertur ad eos, qui alio tempore alias partes secuti, modo in perniciem patriæ aperte agunt, modo in ejus salutem agere se simulant.” Bremi.

76. *προεδρίαν*] “the front seat,” i.e. in the theatre of Dionysus, at the Great Dionysia, which occurred while the ambassadors of Philip were at Athens. As there was no special minister of foreign affairs at Athens, foreign ambassadors were received, and the usual courtesies were shown them by some one of the senators. As Demosthenes had recently visited the court of Philip, on an embassy connected with the same subject, this office was very properly assumed by him in the present case. See the reply of Demosthenes on this point, *De Coron.*, § 28. — *καὶ . . . περιεπέτασε*] In order to make their seats comfortable. — *ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*] Perhaps for the purpose of securing the best seats; or else as an honor, by showing them such extraordinary attention, as is implied in calling for them so early. The ambassadors were Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. Hence the three mule-teams named above. — *προὔπεμψεν*] “escorted,” “accompanied.”

77. μέγεθος] “in extent,” “degree.” See § 17. — κατασκόπων] “spies,” i.e. at the court of Philip, to report any matters of interest relative to him. — συμπλάσας] “having feigned or made up.” This feigning a vision, which is attested also by Plutarch, seems puerile, to say the least, to us; but was undoubtedly a stroke of policy, to give greater weight to the event, and call out, from a superstitious people, a more enthusiastic demonstration of feeling on the occasion. It must be looked upon, at the worst, as a sort of pious fraud, invented for the purpose of committing the people, by an enthusiastic demonstration, more thoroughly against the Macedonian power, and awakening a new spirit of patriotism. — μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπιορκῶν] “swearing falsely by, by day.” This is said, perhaps, with more special reference to the present case, but also as descriptive of his general character. — ἐβδόμην . . . ποιῆσαι] The customary period of mourning for the dead was probably thirty days, during which time certain outward signs of grief were assumed, and various sacrifices and ceremonies were performed in their honor. See Becker’s Charicles, p. 294. — παρηνόμει] “committed an outrage,” “violated the laws of propriety,” i.e. in the act referred to. For the augment of the verb, see K. § 126. 5. — τὴν μόνην . . . ἀπολέσας] “wretched man, having lost his only daughter, and the first to call him father.” This sacrificing private grief to the public interest is an honor, rather than a reproach, to Demosthenes. See Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes.

78. Καὶ οὐ . . . ἐξετάζω] “and I am not charging this impropriety upon him as a mere reproach, but am exhibiting his character.” He makes it a test of character, and attempts to prove by it much more, with regard to the general character of his adversary, I apprehend, than intelligent readers will think he succeeds in doing. Indeed, the extremity to which he carries the point, as is the case also with some others, has rather a sinister appearance. It looks as though he was hard pushed for arguments. — οὐδέ γε . . . οὐκ] The negative here is repeated by οὐκ, as in the other sentences by

the negative adverb, perhaps by an unconscious imitation of their structure; or it may be, as Bremi supposes, because the force of οὐδέ was not felt, on account of the interposition of several words. See § 194. — *τρόπον . . . τόπον*] Paronomasia. The passage reminds one of that line of Horace (Epist. I. 11. 27):—

“Cælum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.”

79. ἦλθε] That is, Demosthenes. — *Δημοσθένει*] Governed by τῶν αὐτῶν. K. § 284. 3. (4). — *φυγάς . . . γεγένηται*] “has become an exile by a summary process.” Hyperides brought the action. See Dem. F. L., § 116. — *ἐπέστη*] “Hoc verbum significat Demosthenem repente et contra omnium opinionem accusatoris partes suscepisse.” Bremi. — *τὰς ἀτυχίας*] “the misfortunes,” i.e. those familiar to all. Referring to the disasters which befell them in the contest with Philip, to which Demosthenes instigated them.

80. ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε] See § 73, note. — *περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ*] “more than there was any occasion for,” “more than was proper.” On the return of the ambassadors from the second embassy, Æschines, in his report to the Assembly, according to Demosthenes, had assured the people, that if Philip was allowed to pass Thermopylæ, and make an expedition into Greece, he would chastise their enemies, the Thebans, and, especially, would relieve from their tyranny the Bæotian towns; just the reverse of which happened. See the charge of Demosthenes, F. L., p. 347, and the unsatisfactory reply of Æschines, F. L., pp. 43, 44. — *ἐσκευαγωγήσατε*] “Cuncta, quæ moveri poterant, in urbem transvexistis: quod est metuentis, ne hosti repente irumpenti resisti nullo modo possit.” Bremi. — *ἐν . . . αἰτίαις*] “were in the greatest accusations,” “lay under the heaviest charges.”

81. ὑπὲρ ὧν . . . διερεχθῆναι] “about which also you suspected they differed.” The subject of their difference is not named, as being sufficiently well known. — *μετὰ τῶν, &c. τ. λ.*]



“in conjunction with,” &c. What these *innate diseases* or *vices* of his nature were, is explained below, by *δειλιας*, &c.

82. ἡσυχία] “peace,” “quiet” (“those opposing the peace of the city,” i.e. the war party, to which Demosthenes belonged). — παριών] “coming forward *to the bema*.” — Σέριον τεῖχος, κ. τ. λ.] These were fortresses on the coast of Thrace, in the vicinity of the Sacred Mountain, so called, and belonged to the kingdom of Cersobleptes, but were defended by Athenian troops (Philip. III., § 15). Philip, availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the delays in negotiating the peace, had taken possession of them. Many of these places, at least, were not so unknown or unimportant as is pretended by Æschines. Demosthenes frequently alludes to the taking of these places by Philip, in his extant orations delivered about this time. (See F. L., § 156; De Cherson., § 64; Philip. III., § 15.) It is worth observing, however, that in neither place are all the names found which are here given by Æschines, who evidently, in ridicule, throws together a number of obscure names, as a sort of jumble. It is in this light that Demosthenes views them in his reply (§ 27). — Καὶ ἐς τοῦτο . . . πράγματα] “and speedily brought the affairs to this state.” For this usage of φέρων, see K. § 312, R. 9.

83. πόλει . . . ὁμοίᾳ] “to some just and impartial city,” i.e. as an arbiter. — Ἀλόννησον . . . διαφερόμενος] “he (i.e. Philip) gave Halonnesus; but he dissuaded from receiving it, if he *gives* it, instead of giving it *back*, — differing about syllables.” Demosthenes claimed that it was already their own, and could not be accepted as a mere gift (see Orat. de Halon.). The passage reminds one of the terms employed by politicians about the reception of Texas, as to whether it should be *annexed* or *re-annexed*. — Καὶ τὸ, κ. τ. λ.] This expedition seems to have been undertaken about the time of that to Ambracia (B.C. 343). See Thirlwall, chap. 45. — τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν] “the calamity,” i.e. their defeat at Chæronea.

84. Ναί, κ. τ. λ.] He here enters upon the examination of the alliance which Demosthenes entered into with the Eubæ-

ans for resisting Philip. That entered into with the Thebans he defers to § 137, *seq.* See the reply of Demosthenes to the charges which follow, De Coron., § 95, *seq.*

85. ἡδικοιμένοι ὑπὸ Μησάρχου] “Quas injurias passi sint Athenienses a Mnesarcho et quo tempore, nusquam potui invenire.” Bremi. — Ἀθηναίους . . . γράφειν] “dares propose to become Athenians,” i.e. to grant them citizenship at Athens. This was often granted to public benefactors, such as they were (see §§ 95, 96), and the injuries done the state by their father constituted no reason for refusing to honor his sons. — ὑπὸ Θεμισώωνος τοῦ Ἐρετριέως] “by Themison of Eretria,” i.e. having been injured by him. Eretria, as well as Chalcis, was a town in Eubœa. Oropus, which he took from the city, was an Athenian town opposite Eretria, across the Euripus, the strait or sea which separates Eubœa from Attica. For the defence of Demosthenes, see De Coron., as above. — ἐκόντες ἐπιλανθανόμενοι] Agree with the subject of ἐβοηθήσατε. This expedition to expel the Thebans was a very brilliant affair. It took place, B.C. 358, in the archonship of Cephisodotus. Demosthenes (De Coron., § 99) makes use of this very expedition, among others, in justifying himself in entering into alliance with the Eubœans, notwithstanding the many injuries they had done Athens.

86. Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσοντες] That is, against his subjects, the Eretrians, headed by Clitarchus, and urged on, probably, by Philip. This expedition was conducted by Phocion (B.C. 341). — ἀλλ’ οὖν] “at least,” “certainly,” i.e. “if nothing else, they *at least* professed,” &c. See § 11, note. — Ταμύνας] “Tamynæ.” The place where they conquered the enemy. This being accomplished, the Grecian force seems to have been betrayed by Plutarchus, in concert with Callias, and, in their isolated position, to have narrowly escaped being captured.

87. μὴ νικήσασι μάχην] “unless they gained a battle.” μὴ is used with the part., because it is equivalent to a conditional sentence (K. § 318. 5). For the construction, see § 63. —

ὁ τ' . . . διαβιβάσας] “and his brother Taurosthenes, who is now (i.e. since his adoption as an Athenian citizen) saluting and smiling upon all, having transported the Phocian mercenaries.” The Phocians, at this time (during the Phocian war), were well-trained soldiers.

89. ἦκε φερόμενος . . . φύσιν] “he went borne on to his own nature,” “he returned headlong to his old practices,” i.e. of acting in bad faith. For φερόμενος, see § 82. — τῷ λόγῳ . . . ἔργῳ] “in pretence . . . in reality.” He professed to be merely forming a congress of deputies from the different towns, but was really, as Æschines contends, devising plans for excluding the Athenian influence, and establishing himself in power.

90. καὶ πλείους . . . Εὐρίπῳ] “and having turned more turns than the Euripus,” i.e. many sudden turns; the ebbing and flowing of the Euripus being frequent and violent. See Liv. XXVIII. 6. Hence Εὐριπὸς ἄνθρωπος became a proverb for an inconstant man. See Plat. Phæd., 90. C. — Ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χορήσαιο αὐτῷ] “Formula, qua quis significatur summis premi angustiis, nec ullam salutem undecunque sperare posse.” Bremi. — ἐνορχον λαβεῖν] “to bind by an oath,” i.e. by forming an alliance with them. — κωλύσετε] “should hinder.” Thus the fut. is often used after an historical tense. K. § 255. 3.

91. τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα] “the δόλιχος runner.” The δόλιχος was the long course, opposed to the στάδιον. See Xen. Anab., IV. 8. 27. — ἐξῴρεῖτο] That is, of Demosthenes and his party. The numerous and sweeping charges of corruption brought by Æschines against Demosthenes — unsustained, as they are, by any adequate proof — excite the suspicion that none of them are true. — συνεδρεύειν] “to sit in the council of the allies,” i.e. that the Chalcidians should not be required to be represented at Athens, as the other allies were, but might have a separate congress in their own country. It was all-important, of course, that, in resisting Philip, Athens should have allies, which were to be obtained on such terms as they could be.



92. *μισοτύραννος*] Demosthenes was a stern democrat, and the uncompromising enemy of monarchical and oligarchical governments. See his oration, "For the Liberty of the Rhodians." — *ἀντὶ τούτων*] "as an offset to these things." That is, they were bound by the treaty of alliance to assist the Athenians, as the Athenians were bound to assist them; but this obligation, he says, on the part of the Chalcidians, was a mere form.

93. *τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς*] "Blandis et speciosis verbis ad sententiam suam perducens. In MSS., fere confunditur cum *προσβιάζειν*, quod est impellere bona plerumque significatione." Bremi. — *τὰς μὲν . . . εὐεργεσίας*] "first to furnish aid to those of the Greeks who for the time being need it, and subsequently alliance, after these favors."

94. *ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ*] Another city of Eubœa, which Demosthenes released from the peculiar duties of allies (representation at Athens, and taxation), that it might join the Eubœan congress. — *ἔλαθον ὑφελόμενοι*] "unperceived took away." The object of Demosthenes in promoting a confederation of the Eubœan cities was, to present an effectual barrier to the Macedonian ascendancy.

96. *δι' ἀπορρήτων*] "by secret means," "secretly," i.e. that they might not be known to Philip. Opposed to *φανερὰ*, above.

97. *ἦν ἐπρέσβευσε*] "Demosthenes legationem in Peloponnesum obibat Ol. CIX. 1 (A. C. 343). Fortasse rediens ex Peloponneso Acarnaniam, regionem in occidentali Helladis parte non inopem, adiit." Bremi. It should be observed that *ἐκ* in this line\* and *ἐξ* in the next are by attraction for *εἰς*, or rather, as performing an embassy implies going into and out of a country, the last act is here expressed instead of the first. For a similar case of attraction see §§ 159 seq. — *εἰς*] "for" ("for furnishing of," &c., "for ten thousand foot-soldiers," &c.).

98. *τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις*] "forces from the cities." Opposed to *σύνταγμα χορημάτων*, and hence the *μὲν* and *δὲ*. Undoubtedly the hopes of Demosthenes, with regard to assistance

from other states in the contest with Philip, were much beyond the reality, but not so extravagant, probably, as is here represented.

99. *τοῦτο . . . ποιεῖ*] “for the man does this on peculiar and not on common principles.” *ἄνθρωπος* is for *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*. See Dem. de Coron., § 139. All that is said on this point, instead of being a reproach, is an honor to Demosthenes, since it all goes to show that he was honest in his expectations of aid, though interpreted differently by Æschines. — *κλέπτων*] “deceiving,” “cheating.” So, also, § 35.

100. *μακρότερον μὲν τῆς Ἰλιάδος*] A pretty good hit, as Demosthenes was famous for his long decrees. See De Coron., § 181. — *Ἀπαγαγὼν . . . ἐλπίδων*] “having led you far away from the artifice, and suspended you upon hopes.” *ἀποθεν* forms a parallelism, and makes the idea more intense. — *συστρέφας*] “having collected himself,” = *summis viribus*. Used especially of beasts. See Plat. Rep., 336. B. — *οἷτινες . . . εἶναι*] “who shall ask them to consider the same a friend and an enemy as the Athenians,” i.e. to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive.

101. *πρὸς*] “in addition to.” — *ἀφελὼν*] “having laid aside,” “stripped off.” — *ἅψαι*] “touch,” “seize upon” “detect.” See § 237. — *ὑφείλετο*] “unconsciously took from you,” “practised upon you.”

102. *λόγῳ . . . ἔργῳ*] See § 89, note.

103. *Κλειτόρχου*] He succeeded Plutarchus (§ 86) as king of Eretria, having been established in his place by Philip. Demosthenes, in his reply (§ 81), refers to the expedition which he despatched, under Phocion, for the expulsion of this tyrant and Philistides, tyrant of Oreus, as evidence of his proof against corruption, and charges Æschines with corruption, on the ground of his having entertained their ambassadors when they visited Athens. — *καταφανὲς ἐγένετο*] “he became evident,” i.e. receiving the talent from them. Because, as he goes on to say, after the expulsion of their king they became a democracy, and hence transacted all business

by votes, of which one existed, he pretends upon this subject. The discrepancies between this passage and the corresponding passage in the reply of Demosthenes, especially the fact that Demosthenes makes no allusion to this pretended vote of the Oreads, have led to the conjecture, that this passage must have been greatly changed by the orator, after the delivery of the oration, on its publication. This seems very probable. Indeed, the corresponding passage in Demosthenes does not seem at all as though it were framed as a reply to such a passage as this.

104. ὅτι . . . δέοιτο] “that he did not want most worthless brass.” What he did want is expressed by the infin. which follows. — ὑπέθεσαν] “pledged.” — δραχμὴν . . . μνᾶς] “a drachma per month for each mina.” Observe the distributive use of the article. As a drachma was a hundredth part of the mina, this was *twelve per cent. per annum*. This whole account is so extravagant as to make it not only incredible, but ridiculous.

106. Ἐνταῦθα] “here,” “at this point.” He passes now to the third period of his public life, — that in which they were avowedly at war with Philip, and which ended in the disastrous battle of Chæronea. See § 55.

107. Κιόρῳρων . . . πεδίον] On the Corinthian Gulf, around the ancient city of Cirrha, which, before its destruction on account of its ill treatment of pilgrims to the temple, was the port of Delphi. See Demosthenes’s account of the transactions here referred to, De Coron., § 149, seq. — ἐξάμιστος καὶ ἐπάρατος] “devoted and accursed.” Why it was thus styled appears from what follows. — μαντεῖαν . . . θεῶν] “sought an oracle at the temple of (παρὰ) the god.” — μετελθεῖν] “to pursue.”

108. ἡ Πυθία] The priestess of Apollo, who presided at the oracle and gave the responses. — ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ] “to perpetual waste or desolation.” — Προνοία] “goddess of forethought.” In this character she was worshipped at Delphi, in conjunction with the other divinities here named.



109. ἔχωσαν] “filled up.” — αὐτοῖ] “themselves,” i.e. the Amphictyons. It is in the nom. by attraction, to agree with the subject of the preceding verb. K. § 307. 4.

110. ἀρὰν] “imprecation.” — ἐναγής] “accursed of.” This takes the gen. from the idea of separation which it contains.

111. ἐπεύχεται] “Scilicet: ἡ ἀρά, quod subjectum est etiam ad antecedens interjectum φησί.” Bremi. — τέρατα] “monsters.” — ἀγορῶν] “Id est, ἐκκλησιῶν, Homericō loquendi usu. Cf. Schoemann de com., p. 28.” Bremi. — μηδὲ . . . ἱερά] “nor even would they (i.e. the gods referred to) receive at their hands the sacrifices.” The dat. here seems to be causal in its character (“out of regard to them,” “on their account”). In repeating the phrase (§ 121) he uses the gen. of the person.

112. Οὐ πρὶν, κ. τ. λ.] “Omnino factum videtur mihi sæpius, ut in locis, ubi deessent scita, leges aliæve litteræ publicæ, sic unde nota essent, aut ex ipsa oratione suppleri posset, a doctis lectoribus insererentur. Pro tali habuerim etiam fragmentum oraculi apud Æschinem in Ctesiph., p. 503. R.” F. A. Wolf.

113. πυλαγόρων] “pylagoræ.” One class of deputies to the Amphictyonic Council. See Dem. de Coron., § 148, note.

114. ἐφ’ ᾧτε] “upon condition that.” The agreement with him, that he should be feed yearly, was made upon condition that he should defend them, &c. — ὅθεν] That is, from receiving of this money thus sacrilegiously obtained. This, he says, made him more ill-starred than before, so that he involved in ill fortune whatever he touched. See the most masterly comparison of their fortunes which Demosthenes goes into, in reply to this taunt, De Coron., §§ 256–266.

115. Ἐπὶ γὰρ . . . ἄρχοντος] That is, B. C. 340. — ἱερομνήμωνος] For the character and duties of this class of deputies to the Amphictyonic Council, see Dem. de Coron., §§ 148, 149, note. — Ἀναφλυστίου] “Anaphlistian.” It denotes the *deme* or borough to which he belonged. — Μειδίαν]

A violent enemy of Demosthenes, before referred to. See § 52. — *πυρέττειν*] “to fall sick of a fever.”

116. *ὑποπεπωκότες*] “having devoted themselves to.” — *εἰσέφερον δόγμα, κ. τ. λ.*] Demosthenes (*De Coron.*, § 150) denies this, since such a measure could not have been proposed without a special summons having been served upon the Athenians, to appear and defend themselves against the charge. The crime for which they were to be fined, according to Æschines, was for dedicating certain shields in the new temple (*τὸν καινὸν νεῶν*) at Delphi, with an inscription commemorating their ancient victory over the Persians and Thebans, which, of course, was offensive to the Thebans. “The Scholiast supposes the reference to be to the new temple of Apollo, constructed upon the burning of the old one in *Olymp.* 58, 1, and not fully finished till Nero’s time.” (Woolsey.) Demosthenes says this whole account of his being provoked to attack the Amphisæans is false, and that he was employed to do it by Philip, for the purpose of getting up an Amphictyonic war, which would give him an opportunity of introducing his army into Greece. See *Dem. de Coron.*, §§ 140–150. — *καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω προσηρμένον*] “even myself having thus determined to do,” i.e. if he had not been excited, as he afterwards relates, and provoked to a direct attack upon the Amphisæans.

117. *προθυμότερόν*] “more zealously,” i.e. than was common. — *τῶν . . . μεθεστηκότων*] “the other pylagoræ having retired,” i.e. all except the Amphisæan deputy; probably that the hieromnemous might have a session by themselves. — *ἀρχῇν*,] “at the beginning,” “at all.” Taken with *οὐδ’* below, *not at all*.

118. *Κρώβυλος*] A nickname of Hegesippus, which he received from wearing his hair in a *knot* or *roll* on the top of his head, called *κρώβυλος*. He was on the same side, in politics, with Demosthenes. The alliance with the Phocians was generally unpopular in Greece, on account of their sacrilegious character. — *ἐπῆλθε . . . γνώμην*] “it occurred to me

then in my thoughts," = *venit mihi in mentem*. — ἀντόθεν ἐστηκώς] "From the very spot where I stood." Woolsey.

119. τέλη πεπραχότας] "having received revenues," "having exacted toll." The part. is from πράττω.

120. διωριζόμεν] "I set forth," "declared." — ἀφοσιῶ] "ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκαθαίρω, ἀφαγνίζω." Harpocration. That is "keep pure," "clear." — Ἐνῆρκται μὲν τὰ κανᾶ] "the sacred rites have begun." That is, suppose them to have commenced. The κανᾶ were *baskets* used for carrying the sacred barley-cakes (οὔλαι) in at the sacrifices.

121. παρέντες] "having passed by," "left." — κατὰ τε . . . καὶ κατὰ] As τε is an enclitic, it follows the preposition, while καὶ stands before its word. — φησὶ] Understand ἡ ἀρά. See § 111.

122. μετέστην ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου] "Videtur moris fuisse, ut qui fecerat ipse rogationem discederet, ut liberum esset reliquorum consilium." Bremi. — πόρῳ τῆς ἡμέρας οὐσης] "the day being far spent." — ὅσοι ἐπὶ διετές ἥβῳσι] "as many as have been youths for two years." That is, as many as were *eighteen* years old, having passed the two years of youth, and arrived at their majority. Athenian youths became men at eighteen, but were not liable to serve out of Attica till they were twenty. Herm., Polit. Antiq., 123. — ἥτις δ' . . . ἱερῶν] "and whatever city (i.e. of those belonging to the league) shall not be present, shall be excluded from the temples." For the fut. mid. (ἐῖρξεται) in a pass. sense, see K. § 252, R. I.

124. ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . θεῶν] That is, the private individuals from the different states embraced in the Amphictyonic League, who attended the session of the Council for the purpose of participating in the religious rites connected with it. See Dem. de Coron., § 154, note. — τῆς ἐπιούσης πνλαίας] As it was the spring session that was just closing, the next regular one was in the autumn; but they were to meet at a special session at an appointed time (ὁριστῶ χρόνῳ). But, according to the view of President Woolsey, the following session was the spring session. See § 254, n.



125. ὑφ' ἡμῶν] “by us,” meaning himself and colleagues, as he is here speaking of their laying the decree before the senate and people on their return. — μεσεγγνήματος] See § 114. — ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ] “in an open or direct way.” — μετασπράμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας] “having sent out the private persons.” The Senate was often thronged by the common citizens. See Dem. de F. L., § 18. — προσλαβὼν] “having taken advantage of.”

126. διεπράξατο ἐπαρηφισθῆναι] “he caused to be put to vote.” — ἤδη ἐπαναστάσης, κ. τ. λ.] That is, just at the close of the session, and after most had gone out. — τοὺς ἀεὶ πνλαγοροῦντας] “those acting as deputies in each case.” The effect of this decree was, to prevent deputies being sent to the *special* session to be called.

127. μετέχειν] For the dat. and gen. after this verb see K. §§ 273. 3, b, and 284. 3. 1. — Τὸ δὲ . . . ἐστι;] “But not to participate, what is it?” The question is answered, after the parenthesis, by Οὐκ ἔξ, κ. τ. λ. — οὕτωςι] “Hoc vocabulum sæpe ex contextu definitur imprimis in malam partem. Hic significat οὕτω κακῶς.” Bremi.

128. μᾶς πόλεως] That is, *Thebes* which had since (B. C. 335) been destroyed by Alexander. — οὐτ' ἂν . . . μήθ' ] Observe the change from οὐτε to μήτε, in passing from the expression of a simple negative to the expression of a negative wish (“I neither would . . . and would to God there may not be”). — Κόττυρον τὸν Φαρσάλιον] For the probable reason of his being called an Arcadian in Dem. de Coron., § 155, see Appendix to that Oration, p. 247. — μακρὰν] Used as an adverb, but properly an adjective, referring originally to ὁδόν, or some other feminine noun, understood. — ἀντίκα μάλα] μάλα is often found thus after ἀντίκα, (and sometimes before it,) in the sense of “very,” to strengthen its meaning. See Dem. de F. L., §§ 39, 42.

129. τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι] “to pay to the god,” i.e. to pay into the treasury of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. — τοὺς δὲ . . . κατήγαγον] “but those having fled for conscience’

sake, they restored," i.e. those who were opposed to the sacrilegious proceedings referred to, and who had left the country to avoid participating in them. These they restored to their country, while they banished (*μετεστήσαντο*) the offenders. — *κατελθόντας*] "having returned," "having been restored." — *πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον*] "Oratio hyperbolica eo oratoris consilio nata, ut ne ipse videtur Philippum in Greciam vocare voluisse. Hinc rem ita exponit, quasi altera in Amphissenses expeditio longo tempore post primam, cui interfuit Æschines, locum habuerit. Sed utraque fere conjuncta censenda, aut una nonnisi, ut patet ex iis, quæ habet Weiske de Hyperb., P. III. p. 23." Bremi.

130. *μόνον γε οὐκ*] "only not indeed," = *almost*. — *μᾶλλον*] "rather," "more," i.e. than Athens on the occasion referred to. — *ἡ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή*] "the death of the initiated." That is, as the Scholiast says, the devouring of some of the novitiates by a sea-monster, as they descended into the sea to perform the purificatory ablutions. — *φιλιππίζειν . . . φάσκων*] "saying that the Pythia Philippizes," i.e. was in the pay and under the influence of Philip, and hence that they could not obtain an impartial response if they sent to consult the oracle. — *ἀπαίδευτος . . . ἐξουσίας*] "being rude (i.e. as it regards religious cultivation), and enjoying and being glutted with the power granted him by you." Even Æschines thus bears testimony to the great public influence of Demosthenes.

131. *ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερότων*] "inauspicious and ill-omened." The words are nearly synonymous, and used for oratorical effect. The reference is to the preliminary rites before the unfortunate battle of Chæronea, to which, he says, Demosthenes sent out the army against the omens derived from the sacrifices. — *πρώην*] "lately" i.e. in some of their "sparring," probably some time after the battle of Chæronea, and before this trial. Various reasons have been given for the course of Philip in not entering and ravaging Attica after the battle of Chæronea; but it was not, probably, dictated

wholly by magnanimity. See Thirlwall, chap. 46. — ἀλκίῳι] “guilty destroyer.” The ἀλκίῳις of a nation was a sort of Achan, who called down the divine vengeance by his wickedness and impiety. See how Demosthenes turns the charge upon Æschines, De Coron., § 159.

132. ἐφ’ ἡμῶν] “in our age.” Literally, “upon us,” while we say “under one.” — ἀλλ’ . . . ἔφνμεν] “but we live for a marvel to those who shall come after us.” That is, on account of the strange things which had taken place in their day, through the bad management and evil genius of Demosthenes. — ὁ τὸν Ἀθῶν, κ. τ. λ.] Xerxes, in his invasion of Greece, is said to have made a bridge across the Hellespont, and to have cut a canal through Mount Athos. These feats are often referred to as marvels by Greek authors. (See Isoc. Panegy., § 89.) A king once so mighty and so haughty, he goes on to say, had in their day (i.e. by Alexander, then on his Eastern expedition) been reduced to the utmost extremity. Of course all these acts are not ascribed to any single king, but to different persons in a *continuous office*. — τοὺς αὐτοὺς] That is, the Macedonians.

133. περὶ τῶν ὄλων οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευσάμενοι] “τὰ ὅλα Græcis sæpe sunt res summæ, gravissimæ, quæ spectant reipublicæ salutem et felicitatem. Sententia nostri loci est: quanquam parum Græciæ saluti consulerent. Post Leuctricam pugnam nimium sibi arrogarunt Thebani.” Bremi. — ἀλλὰ] “yet.” Stands opposed to εἰ καὶ (“if also justly . . . yet at least receiving their judicial blindness and folly, not from men but from the gods”). — προσαψάμενοι . . . κατάληψιν] “only meddling with these affairs at first in taking the temple.” The Lacedæmonians, having been fined by the Amphictyons for occupying the Cadmea of Thebes, had assisted the Phocians, at first, in seizing the temple, but had taken no active part in the war which ensued upon that event. — νῦν . . . ἀναπέμπεσθαι] “The Lacedæmonians are now about to send up to Alexander, for the purpose of giving hostages and making an exhibition of their misfortune,” i.e.



fully confessing their failure and throwing themselves upon his mercy. The reference is to an unsuccessful attempt to resist the Macedonian power during the absence of Alexander in the East (B. C. 331). This allusion proves that the time of the delivery of this oration must have been as late as the time usually assigned to it (B. C. 330).

135. ἀπήνρα] “suffered from.” Strictly, “to receive,” whether good or ill. The imperf. has the aorist meaning. — ἀτιάσθαι μηχανάται] “devises arrogant things.” See the same passage referred to by Æschines, F. L., p. 49, where μηχανάται is used in the place of μηχανάται. The calamities sent upon a people cursed with such a man are described in the lines that follow, which he says, laying aside the metre, are an accurate description of what had happened under the conduct of Demosthenes. Thus ends this long story (see Dem. de Coron., § 140) about the Amphisseans.

137. Φρονώνδας οὔτε Εὐρύβατος] These were shameless traitors and deceivers, such as magicians and jugglers (μάγος καὶ γόης) usually are. For Eurybatus, or, as some would have it, Eurybates, see Dem. de Coron., § 24. — ὥς ἄρα] “that forsooth.” Observe the disbelief and contempt implied in these words, and see § 54. He here enters upon an examination of the character of the alliance which Demosthenes formed with Thebes, and on which he prided himself so much, and which, therefore, might be considered as a redeeming feature in his public career. But even here he allows him no merit. He referred to this alliance, as a point to be examined in connection with that formed with the Eubœans (§ 84), but, to preserve chronological order, examined that first, and now, having brought down the history of affairs to the time the alliance with Thebes was formed, i.e. till just before the battle of Chæronea, when Philip had already taken Elatea, proceeds to examine this. Demosthenes replies to what is said on this point, De Coron., § 238, seq.

139. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον οἶδα μὲν] The cause consisted partly in the rivalry of the neighboring states, and partly in the un-

patriotic course of the Thebans in joining the Persians in the first Persian war. As Thebes had been overthrown by Alexander, he says he will not rake up these grounds of their differences, — *nil de mortuis nisi bonum*.

140. *Νίκαιαν*] “Hanc urbem in bello Phocensi Thessaliis a Phocensibus ereptam Philippus illis restituit, ut eos sibi devinciret. Cf. Demosthenis Philip. II., p. 71.” Bremi. But Æschines here says he took it from the Thebans, i.e. they had confidently expected to receive it. — *τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον*] That is, the Phocian war, I suppose, referring, perhaps, to his having first carried it on in Thessaly, and afterwards in Phocis. — *Ἐλάτειαν*] This was the principal city of Phocis, on the borders of Bœotia, and commanding the defiles which led to Bœotia and Attica. — *πρὶν . . . Δημοσθένειν*] This, if taken literally, is a downright falsehood. But it would seem from what follows, that it should be taken in a limited sense, as expressing what *virtually happened*, though not *actually*. He says the necessity of the case virtually brought the two cities together, and not the negotiations of Demosthenes, though he, by the form and direction which he gave to the alliance, did infinite mischief. See a full account of the negotiations of Demosthenes for bringing about the alliance, in his reply, §§ 179–187, 211–214.

141. *ὡς αὐτὰ . . . δεδήλωκε*] Referring to the severity with which Philip treated Thebes after the battle of Chæronea, and the lenity with which he treated Athens. This, he says, proves that he was more hostile to Thebes than Athens. Possibly so, but see § 131, note. — *ταῦτα*] That is, the true feelings of Philip towards Athens and Thebes respectively.

142. *πρῶτον μὲν*] As the first objection which he makes to the alliance resolves itself into two parts, after having stated the general character of the objection, he here commences to state more particularly the first point, and at *δεύτερον δὲ* (§ 143) introduces the second point. For a similar use of *πρῶτον* and *δεύτερον*, in expressing the subdivisions under the first general division of a subject, see Dem. de Cherson.,

§§ 39-43. — ἐπὶ τίσι] “upon what *conditions*.” — ἀγαπᾶν] “to be satisfied.” — τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν] “but having secured this point,” i.e. that no special conditions should be insisted upon. — Βοιωτίαν ἄπασαν] Thebes was but the chief city of Bœotia, having no supremacy over the other cities and towns except what was gained by encroachment. It was a fundamental principle in the Athenian policy to keep these towns independent of Thebes; but by the arrangement entered into with Thebes on the present occasion, Demosthenes, in the view of Æschines, so far departed from that policy, as to put them in the power of Thebes. — τοῖς ὀνόμασι . . . πρόγματα] Referring to his denominating the Thebans by the general name of *Bœotians*. But this was not a mere trick on the part of Demosthenes; his object was to form an alliance with the Bœotians as a nation, and not simply with Thebes. — ὥς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, κ. τ. λ.] This gives the supposed reason why Demosthenes employed such terms in speaking of the Thebans; namely, “that the Bœotians would be pleased by so flattering a euphemism as described the Thebans as “the Bœotians at Thebes.” For ὥς with the acc. absolute of participles, see K. § 312. 6, c.

143. οἷς . . . κίνδυνοι] As Philip was at Elatea, the Athenians, of course, were farther from danger than the Thebans. — ἡγεμονίαν] See § 58, note. — ἄρδην φέρων] “wholly bearing,” = “at one sweep.” — Στρατοκλέα] No Athenian general of this name is mentioned as acting in this war. The leaders were Chares and Lysicles.

144. ἕτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν] “while (δὲ) others pass them by.” These were common charges against Demosthenes, he says, but they had become so accustomed to hear charges against him, that they had no effect upon them. They were not then, most probably, convinced of their truth.

145. ἄρδην . . . ὑφελόμενος] “unperceived, wholly stole away.” As Thebes was nearer the seat of war, it must have been more convenient to conduct the military counsels there than at Athens. Besides, there was a shrewd policy, as De-



mosthenes remarks (De Coron., § 195), in keeping the whole war out of Attica by a union with Thebes.

146. *διαδικασίαν . . . στρατηγεῖον*] “he said that he would institute a trial of merit for the rostrum against the prætorium.” The *διαδικασία* was a suit to decide the superiority of claim to certain property or rights between two or more litigants, as in the case of heirs, etc. — *μισθοφορῶν . . . χώραις*] “but drawing the pay for blank places in the mercenary force,” i.e. the force sent out to Amphissa to oppose Philip, just before the battle of Chæronea. The charge is, that he, having got the complete control of this affair, drew for the pay for a certain number of soldiers; and, as the ranks were not all full, took that himself which was intended for the absentees, just as the more rapacious military leaders were wont to do. — *προσέμιξε . . . πόλει*] “the mercenary troops having been taken away, he hurried on the danger to the city.” For this use of *φέρων*, see § 82.

147. *ἂν*] Belongs to *εὐξασθαι*, but is placed after *γὰρ* as the word which turns the sense of the sentence. K. § 261. 2. — *χωρῖς*] “separately.” — *εἰ μὴ δίκην δέδωκεν*] That is, he is not satisfied with merely escaping punishment. — *οὐδ' ἰαρόν, κ. τ. λ.*] Referring to the proposition to proclaim his crown, not in the Assembly, but in the theatre, at the great Dionysiac festival. See § 33, note.

148. *ὅτι . . . διαγωνεῖται*] “that he should stake all the advantages he has acquired (*τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν*) in a small part of a day,” i.e. in the battle which must be fought with the Athenians and Thebans.

149. *τοῦτο κήρυγμά τι*] “This, as it were a command.” *κήρυγμά τι* belong to the predicate.

150. *Φειδίας . . . Δημοσθένει*] “Phidias made for Demosthenes to make gain and swear falsely by.” If Demosthenes conducted as here described, he was more of a fool than a knave. The evident exaggeration of many parts of the oration injures its effect very much. — *Κλεοφῶντος*] “Turbulentus erat demagogus et similis Hyperbolo et Cleoni, quibuscum

sæpe jungitur." Bremi. — ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . εἰρήνης] "but even turned back again (i.e. towards home) your soldiers who had come out, in order that you may consult concerning the peace." The subj. after ἵνα is used instead of the opt., on account of the vividness of the conception of the speaker. K. § 330, R. 1.

151. καὶ γράψειν . . . Φύλιππον] "and said that he would propose (i.e. if he should be compelled to return to Athens to deliberate upon these matters) a decree (the man who never looked the enemy in the face) for you to send ambassadors to Thebes to demand of the Thebans a passage through their country against Philip." — ὥς ἀληθῶς] "in very deed." ὥς qualifies the adverb, as it often does the superlative. K. § 343, R. 2.

152. ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν] That is, those who fell at Chæroneæ, and upon whom Demosthenes was employed to pronounce a funeral oration. Demosthenes (De Coron., § 285) justly prides himself upon this appointment, as showing the confidence of the people in him. — τοῖς δραπέταις . . . τάξιν] Referring to his deserting his post in the battle. See § 159, note. — σπονδαῖα] "serious duties." — ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐθελήσεις] The idea of futurity is made more prominent by the use of the fut. infin. instead of the pres. or aor. K. § 257, R. 2.

153. τὴν διάνοιαν] "in thought," "imagination." Acc. of nearer definition. K. § 279. 7. — νομίσαθ' ὁρᾶν] "imagine that you see." He here gives, with his peculiar coloring, the scene which would be presented at the crowning of Demosthenes, should they sustain the proposition of Ctesiphon. — τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσύνῃ] "the perverse folly of the city," i.e. in honoring the man who had been the cause of the death of their friends.

154. τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς] By a law of Solon, the sons of those who had fallen in war were brought up at the public expense. — προεδρίαν] That is, the seat of honor in the theatre.

155. παραστησάμενος] "having placed before you." Agrees with κέρυξ, understood. — ἀλλ' οὐ] "yet not." For ἀλλά in

this sense, see § 133. — ἀλλὰ τάναντία . . . φθέγγεσθαι] “but will seem to utter the opposite of the words of the crier,” i.e. as is described in what follows.

156. μὴ . . . αὐτῶν] “do not triumph over yourselves,” “do not proclaim your own shame.” — παρανοίας] “of madness,” “folly.” This, together with τὸν δῆμον, is governed by αἰρεῖν, in the sense “to convict.” K. § 274. 2.

157. ταῖς γε διανοίαις] “in imagination.” This description of the fate of Thebes has been much admired. Demosthenes (De Coron., § 41,) derides his pathos, as being feigned, since he profited by their fall.

158. αὐτοσχεδιάζει] “may practise upon,” “make experiments upon,” “endanger.” “The ferry spoken of by Æschines seems to have lain between the town of Salamis and the nearest adjoining mainland where the strait is less than two miles wide; between which place, under Mt. Ægaleos and Athens, along the coast, there are traces of an ancient road” (Woolsey). See the reply of Demosthenes to the foregoing remarks of his adversary, and others of the same kind, as to his evil fortune, De Coron., § 252, seq.

159. τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως] “his post in the city.” Literally, “from the city.” But this is by attraction through the influence of ἔλιπεν, just as in the previous sentence; or perhaps ἔλιπεν should be taken in a pregnant sense (“he left his post by going from the city”). The manner in which, and the purpose for which, he left the city are named in what follows; i.e. he left in a vessel to collect the taxes from the tributaries of Athens. It does not appear that Demosthenes deserted his place in the battle in any other sense than all that survived did. “He was certainly reproached with cowardice, because he escaped in the general flight, only by those who wished that he had been left on the field.” Thirlwall, Chap. 46. — τῆς ἀπροσδοκίτου σωτηρίας] Referring to the leniency of Philip towards the city. See § 131, note. — ἐπιγράφειν] Plutarch relates, that, distrusting his fortune, he for some time presented his decrees in the name of his friends, of whom Nausi-



160. Ἐπειδὴ . . . Φίλιππος] That is B. C. 336. — τερατευόμενος] “dealing in the marvellous.” This is intended to describe a prominent trait in the character of Demosthenes, often alluded to by Æschines (§§ 77, 99, 142), and which he represents as a species of *solemn imposture*, but which should be regarded as the result of a strong religious, combined with a strong patriotic, tendency. Demosthenes evidently possessed something of those austere, and often mysterious views, which sometimes laid him open to the charge of humbuggery. When the good of his country seemed to be at stake, the end, undoubtedly, often seemed to him to sanctify the means. In this way we may account for his pretending to have been informed by a vision of the death of Philip (§ 77), as well as the act here ascribed to him, and many others calculated to awaken the patriotism of his countrymen. Witness, too, the frequent invocation of the gods in his orations, his solemn array of the ancient heroes, and the patriotic raptures in which he often indulges. — ἱερὰ . . . Πανσανίου] “he caused to be erected sacred symbols (a statue) of Pausanias.” That is, of the murderer of Philip. — εἰς αἰτίαν . . . κατέστησεν] “while he involved the Senate in a charge of sacrificing thank-offerings for the good news,” i.e. of the death of Philip. — Μαργίτην] That is, a *mock hero*, who figures in a pseudo-Homeric fragment. Alexander, too, it should be recollected, was a great admirer of the Homeric heroes, and especially of Achilles, upon whose character he modelled himself. There may be some allusion to this fact in the appellation under consideration. — τὰ σπλάγχνα φυλάττοτα] “inspecting the entrails of victims,” i.e. in order to see if it would be safe to move from home, like a timid and superstitious person. — οὐκ εἰκάζων] “not conjecturing.” — ὅτι . . . ὠρία] “that valor is purchasable by blood,” i.e. by incurring danger fearlessly. αἵματος is gen. of price. In the next clause, which refers to Demosthenes, Bremi takes αἶμα in the sense of *robur*, “vigor,” “manliness.”

161. τοῦ νεανίσκου] Alexander, who at this time was twen-

ty-one years of age. — *προσβεντῆς . . . ὑποστρέψας*] Plutarch alludes to this embassy to Alexander after the destruction of Thebes, and to the circumstance of Demosthenes returning from dread of the anger of the king, after he had proceeded as far as Mount Cithæron. And it would have been utter presumption for him to have thus placed himself in his power. — *οὐτ' ἐν . . . παρέχων*] See how Demosthenes turns this charge upon Æschines, *De Coron.*, §§ 180, 196–198. — *δεινότατον*] That is, “to name what is most shocking.” A preparatory acc. in apposition with what follows. Jelf’s *K.* § 580, R. 2; also *Dem. Pop. Orat.*, II. § 1. — *οὐ προῦδοτε*] “you did not give him up,” i.e. to his enemies. Referring, perhaps, to the demand which Alexander made for him and other Attic orators to be given up to him. — *ἐν τῷ . . . συνεδρίῳ*] That is, the Amphictyonic Council, undoubtedly. See *Dem. de Coron.*, § 322.

162. *πάραλοι*] That is, “the crew of the Paralos, or sacred galley,” in which the ambassadors next spoken of seem to have been conveyed to some port on their way to Alexander. — *εἴ τις ἄρα*] “if perchance,” = *si quis forte*. — *ἐτέρων . . . γενόμενος*] “being distinguished above others in his appearance.” For the combination *διαφέρων γενόμενος*, see § 10. — *τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποτρέχει*] “insinuates himself with Alexander.” And thus, as Æschines would have us believe, served as a go-between from Demosthenes to Alexander, by whom they carried on a secret correspondence and came to a secret understanding. But such hearsay is unworthy to be produced before a court in a serious cause.

163. *καιροὶ κάλλιστοι*] That is, of showing his hostility to Alexander. — *καθεστημῶς*] “having been established,” i.e. on his throne. — *ἐαντῷ*] Referring to the king of Persia. — *τῷ σαντοῦ τρόπῳ*] “your own habit,” i.e. of cowardice. — *ῥητορικὴν δειλίαν*] “rhetorical cowardice,” i.e. the cowardice of an orator.

164. *ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος, κ. τ. λ.*] Referring to the battle of Issus. — *συμπατηθῆσθαι . . . ἵππον*] “to be trampled under

foot by the Persian cavalry." The infin. depends upon ἡμελλεν. — οὐκ ἐχῶρει] "could not contain." — ἄς . . . περιήεις] "which having suspended from your fingers, you went around with," i.e. holding them in an ostentatious way in his hand. The letters were represented as being from persons near Alexander, and who were acquainted with the facts in the case. — καὶ χρυσόκερων . . . φάσκων] "stigmatizing me as a golden-horned victim, and saying that I have been crowned for the sacrifice," i.e. decked out for the sacrifice. Just as in the ambiguous oracle which the Pythia gave out to Philip, relative to his proposed expedition to the East: "Εστέπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων. As Æschines was the active leader of the Macedonian party at Athens, Demosthenes very naturally expressed his exultation over him, in the present critical state of the affairs of Alexander. — εἰς τινα καιρὸν ἀναβάλλον καλλίω] "Oratores Attici medium ἀναβάλλεσθαι usurpant ad indicandam cunctationem ac procrastinationem rerum eam, quæ fit desidia et languore, activum autem ἀναβάλλειν ratione hominum, quos de industria retinemus, aut vero malitiose retardamus, dein etiam ratione rerum, quarum, eventum consilio malo reprimimus. Nostro loco est ex ignavia rem rejicere." Bremi.

165. Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . μάχη] "the Lacedæmonians and the mercenary force fought a successful battle." This seems to have been at the commencement of their revolt against the Macedonians, which ended in their defeat, the year previous to the delivery of this oration. See § 133. The mercenary force spoken of was, most probably, a force sent into the Peloponnesus by Darius, to act in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians in overturning the Macedonian power there. — ὀλίγον δεῖν] "almost." Literally, "so as to want little." K. § 341, R. 3.

166. τὰ νεῦρα] "τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων sunt χρήματα καὶ σύμμοχοι." Bremi. — φορμοῤῥαφούμεθα . . . διείρουνσι] "we are sewed (or, perhaps squeezed) up into the straits, some first thread us as needles." The figures seem to refer to the



manner in which they were pressed and vexed on all sides by domestic enemies. Demosthenes unquestionably used very strong language on some occasions, but it is hardly supposable that he often made use of so harsh and incongruous figures as are here ascribed to him. It is no wonder that Æschines complains of the insufferable harshness of such language. See the retort of Demosthenes to these and the like strictures upon his language, § 127.

167. *κίναδος*] “monster.” — *ὁμολογῶ . . . ἀφιστάναι*] “I acknowledge that I arranged the Spartan movements, I acknowledge that I instigated the Thessalians and Perrhæbans to revolt,” i.e. from Macedonia. What is said of the Spartans “refers, perhaps, to the affairs preceding the death of king Agis III., who was slain in battle against Antipater towards the end of B. C. 331.” Woolsey. — *μὴ*] Understand *εἶπω* with this, (“Let me not say to a city, but even”). K. § 321. 3, a. — *σαντὸν . . . ἐπιγράψεις*] “will inscribe yourself upon that which has taken place,” i.e. claim the honor of it.

168. *δημοτικός ἐστιν*] “he is a man of democratic character and principles.” — *εὐφημίαν*] “plausibleness.” — *ποιόν τινα*] “of what distinctive character.” For this meaning of *τινα*, see K. § 303. 4. — *φραῦλον*] Opposed to *σώφρον* (“virtuous,” “temperate,” “good”) in the description of *δημοτικός*.

169. *ἐλεύθερον*] “free-born.” — *εὐεργεσίαν*] “good-will.” — *βοηθῶν . . . ἀνυχήμασι*] “repairing (lit., coming to the aid of) the misfortunes of his ancestors.”

170. *δαίταν*] “mode of life,” “style of living.” — *ἀσέλγειαν*] “wanton excess,” “profusion.” — *εὐγνώμονα*] “fair-minded,” “sound-minded.” Referring to that freedom from prejudice and general soundness of views, which are essential to success as a statesman. — *διάνοιαν*] “thought,” “mind.” — *παρὰ*] “during,” “in the midst of.” See Dem. Pop. Orat., II. § 22. — *ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις*] “upon condition of entire justice.” See the same phrase, Dem. Pop. Orat., VIII. § 10. The above characteristics of a *δημοτικός* are evidently drawn to meet the case of Demosthenes, and hence are arbitrary. It is

in this light that Demosthenes treats them in his reply (§ 122), setting them aside by a single pertinent illustration.

171. Γύλων ἦν ἐκ Κεραμείων] “Gylon (i.e. the maternal grandfather of Demosthenes) was of Cerameis,” an Attic *deme* of that name. — τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο] That is, *Nymphæum*. — τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας] And hence he could never return to his country. — τοὺς ὠνομασμένους Κήπους] “Urbs erat haud exigua, ab hortis amœnis appellata, Milesiorum colonia.” Bremi.

172. ἐπιφερομένην] “Ἐπιφέρεισθαι de uxore dotem ferente habuimus in Lysiae, pro bonis Aristophan., § 14.” Bremi. — συνῳκισε] “married.” — ὅτφδῆποτε] “to whomsoever he may be.” He did not wish to name him, lest he should give offence to him also in what he was about to say of Demosthenes. His name was Demochares. See Dem. adv. Aphob., p. 818. — παριδὼν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους] That is, by marrying a woman who was not a native-born Athenian. But this was so only after B. C. 403 (see Herm.), and it is probable that the marriage of Gylon took place previous to that time. — προγόνων] “Pluralis positus est ratione sententiæ. Proprie unus respicitur avus Gylon.” Bremi. — τὴν πονηρίαν] “in his rascality.”

173. Ἐκ τριηράρχου . . . ἀνεφάνη] “from a trierarch he became a pleader of causes before the courts,” i.e. although a rich man (as all trierarchs were), he took up the profession of a writer of pleas for pay. — τοὺς λόγους . . . ἀντιδίκοις] “producing the speeches for the opposing parties,” i.e. for both the parties in a suit, as in the case of Phormio and Apollodorus. See Plutarch’s Life of Demosthenes. Thus Plutarch understood the case. But President Woolsey makes it appear highly probable that ἐκφέρειν will bear only the meaning *divulge, disclose*. See his learned comment upon this passage in the Bib. Sac. — τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον] It is admitted that Demosthenes received money from the king of Persia, to be used in stirring up opposition throughout Greece

against the Macedonian power, which was then extending its ravages through the Persian empire; but there is no proof that he appropriated it to his personal benefit.

174. *Δειῶς λέγειν, κακῶς βιώναι*] “So as to speak vehemently, to live shamefully.” — *παιδοποιῆα*] “power of procreation.” These disgusting personalities, as well as those in the reply of Demosthenes (§ 129, seq.), are unworthy of orators of so great renown, but were according to the fashion of the times, and are attributable in the present case to the intense personal animosity of the antagonists, which had been accumulating for years.

176. *ἔξω τῶν περιόραντηρίων*] That is, as a person in disgrace. “Sunt cancelli, intra quos nemini ἀτίμῳ intrare licebat.” Bremi. — *σὺ*] That is, Ctesiphon. — *τοῖς τραγωδοῖς*] “at the tragedies,” “at the exhibition of the tragedies.” It expresses time. Thus often. See Dem. de Coron., § 54.

177. *οὐ μὴ . . . ποιήσετε*] “do not suppose that you will ever make better.” *οὐ* belongs to some verb of *fear* or *anxiety*, understood. K. § 318. 7.

178. *ἀμείνους*] “braver.” So more commonly. See Dem. de Coron., § 219. — *καταπέπλνται*] “has been washed out,” “has been forgotten.”

179. *ἄτοπον*] “strange,” “inexplicable.” — *Οἷεσθ' ἄν*] *ἄν* belongs to *ἐθελῆσαι* (“do you think that any one would be willing”).

180. *Νῦν δ'*] That is, according to the existing arrangement for bestowing rewards at the games. — *ἐπιεικεῖς φύσεις*] “gentle natures,” i.e. modest but deserving men.

181. *Ἐτι δ' οἱ . . . καταγαγόντες*] The reference is to Thrasybulus and his associates, who rallied the citizens that had fled from Athens during the reign of the Thirty, at the fortress of Phyle, on the borders of Bœotia, whence he carried on his operations for the overthrow of this hateful oligarchy. See § 187, fin. Of course, the comparison expressed in the previous sentences, between other ancient worthies and Demosthenes, is implied here between these and



him. It is worth observing, too, that each case for comparison is introduced by δέ. Upon this Bremi remarks: "Singula exempla in progressu enumerantur per particulam δέ, nonnunquam cum indignatione."

182. ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις] "in the same days." Just as we say, "to name in the same day."

183. ἐπὶ τοῦ Στρυμόν] "Intelligitur Cimonis expeditio in Thracia ejus regionis flumen erat Strymon, quod cum valido exercitu eum trajicere jubebant Athenienses, ut sociis urbibus auxilium ferret et quæ Persarum adhuc præsiidiis tenebantur, in libertatem vindicaret. Primum enim Eionem Persarum jugo adhuc pressam dolo cepit, et terra marique pari fortuna usus est. Qui labores erant Atheniensibus tolerandi, perspicitur ex Herod., VII. 107." Bremi. This occurred B. C. 476, (Ol. 76. 1), and not, as Bremi has it, Ol. 77. 3, 4. See Clinton and Thirlwall. — τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἑρμᾶς] Hermæ were square pillars of stone, ending in a head or bust. There seems to have been a street or colonnade lined with them at Athens, called *the Stoa of the Hermæ*, which led from the Pœcile to the Stoa Basileios. See Cramer's Ancient Greece, Vol. II. p. 320. — ἵνα μὴ] Understand δοκῇ εἶναι ἐπίγραμμα, found in the following clause. These inscriptions were to be made upon the Hermæ, but not to contain the name of the persons honored by them.

184. Ἦν ἄρα] "Ἦν pro ἦσαν. Uberius de hac forma exponit Chæroboscus Anecd. Becker, p. 1293." Bremi. — αἰθῶνα] "raging," "consuming." As we say, "consuming hunger." — Πρῶτοι . . . ἀμηχανίην] "Primi omnium viam et rationem invenerunt, qua hostes in consilii inopiam conjicerent." Jacobs.

186. τὴν στοὰν τὴν ποικίλην] "the picture Stoa." A large hall in the agora at Athens, adorned with fresco paintings of great national events, especially of the battle of Marathon. See Cramer's Ancient Greece, Vol. II. p. 318.

187. Μητροῶν] See § 75, note. — Κοίλης] An Attic deme, belonging to the tribe Hippothoontis. — ἀναγνώσεται] Under-

stand γραμματεὺς, as often. See § 190, where it is expressed.

189. *Καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ', κ. τ. λ.*] Demosthenes, in his reply (§ 209), briefly alludes to the unfair use made by Æschines of these ancient deeds of renown in their early history; but replies more fully to the comparison made between him and the ancient worthies near the close of his speech (§§ 314–320), where, it is to be observed, he employs the same illustration of the two celebrated gymnastic wrestlers as is here employed by Æschines. The coincidence is so striking, as not only to create a suspicion, but to render it almost certain, that Æschines added this passage after the reply of Demosthenes, when he published the oration. — ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας] “having attained to their manly virtue.”

191. *Ἐναντιον*] “Vocabulum subtiliter adhibetur tum de sermone, quo tanquam tibiæ sono aures personant, tum de re qualibet, cujus adhuc recens est memoria. Accurate exposuit de vocabulo Rhunk. ad Tim. Lex., p. 100.” Bremi. — *ὅτι τρικαῦτα, κ. τ. λ.*] The γραφὴ παρανόμων was regarded as the great safeguard of the democracy, since it was designed to prevent all encroachment upon the constitution of Solon. See §§ 5, 6. Hence it is that Æschines fixes upon this as the characteristic feature of the unjust reign of the Thirty. — *βιὸς*] “having lived.” Demosthenes (De Coron., § 130) gives a very different account of the father of Æschines from that here given. — *διέξῃσι*] Supply the object from the context (“gave me an account of *these things*”). — *εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον*] “pari culpa eos habitos fuisse, qui contra leges locuti sint et egerint.” Bremi.

192. *τὴν ἀκρόασιν*] “the hearing of the cause.” — *ἀνεπὸδιζον τὸν γραμματεῖα*] “called back the clerk,” “stopped the clerk.”

193. *Ἡδη*] “at length.” “finally.” The appropriate meaning of ἡδη. See § 24, note.

194. *Ἐφ' ᾧ, κ. τ. λ.*] The speech of Ctesiphon has not

been preserved, but Demosthenes makes use of this argument (§§ 223–225). What is here said, I think, implies, as already remarked in another case (§ 35, note), that usage was against law on this point. — *Κέφαλος*] A renowned Athenian orator, who flourished during the Peloponnesian war. See the reply of Demosthenes to this case of Cephalus, § 251. — *οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι*] “those belonging to opposite parties in politics.” The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* was often abused, undoubtedly, by being employed as an instrument for silencing a troublesome opponent. See *Herm. Polit. Antiq.*, § 132.

195. *καὶ εἰλε . . . εὖεργεσιῶν*] “and convicted him, these good deeds having been recently performed by him.” — *μένοντας*] That is, in the city. Opposed to *φεύγοντας*, above.

196. *καὶ τῶν . . . πρυτανείῳ*] That is, “those citizens who, either from personal or ancestral services to the state, were honored with the privilege of taking their meals at the Prytaneum at the public expense.” Some of these, he says, and their honored generals, were in the habit of begging off from (*ἔξαιτοῦνται*) trials for illegal measures. — *ἂν ὑπολάβμβάνοιτε*] “you should.” A mild expression of a command. *K.* § 260. 2, (4), b.

197. *Τίς οὖν . . . σώφρων;*] “quænam oratio convenit homini justo et sobrio, qui patroni partes suscipit?” Bremi. — *εἰσίῃ . . . δικαστήριον*] Here *γραφὴ* is nom. to the verb; but in § 191 the person is expressed, and is put in the nom. — *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδωρ*] the first measure of water.” Referring to their method of measuring time by the clepsydra or water-clock. In most causes, a certain time was allotted to the speakers on each side, and a certain time for fixing the penalty. — *τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ*] “at the first vote,” i. e. the vote as to his guilt or innocence. After one was convicted, the question of the penalty still remained to be discussed and determined upon. The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* belonged to the *ἀγῶνες τιμητοί*, or causes without a



specific penalty affixed. The accuser fixed the fine at a certain sum (see the *γραφή* of Æschines, Dem. de Coron., § 55); but the defendant, if convicted, had the right of naming a counter penalty (*ἀντιτιμᾶν*, *ἀντιτίμῃσις*), and of discussing the question before the court. Herm. Polit. Antiq., § 143. 10.—*τῷ μεγέθει . . . ὑμετέρας*] “the measure of your indignation,” i.e. at the crime, which would be expressed by the penalty they affixed to it.

198. *τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ*] “demands the vote,” i.e. in his favor.—*παραιτεῖται*] See *ἐξαιτοῦνται*, § 196.—*τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ*] That is, on the question of his guilt or innocence.—*ὄρκον αἰτεῖ*] “Flagitat, ut sua causa perjuriam admittatis; νόμον αἰτεῖ, flagitat, ut negligatis legem; δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ flagitat, ut a rationibus democratix deficiatis.” Bremi.—*ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν τίμῃσιν*] “to come to the question of fixing the penalty.”

199. *μὴ ἐξεῖναι . . . φεύγουσι*] This he says, as will be seen from what follows, to suggest to the judges the propriety of refusing Demosthenes the opportunity of replying to him as the *συνήγορος* of Ctesiphon. It is to this attempt to prevent his speaking in self-defence that Demosthenes refers in his reply, § 13.

200. *τὸ σαρίδιον*] “this little tablet.” Containing (see § 201) the decree of Ctesiphon (*ψήφισμα*) and the laws violated by it written opposite (*οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι*), just as the conflicting laws to be revised by the Nomothetæ were to be inscribed upon *σαρίδες* (of which *σαρίδιον* is the diminutive), and exposed before the statutes of the Eponymi (see § 39). The tablet itself is specially mentioned, and then its contents, because he is speaking of a *rule* of judgment, which he had illustrated by the rule of the mechanic. Singularly enough, we have no account of *σαρίδιον*, nor of *σαρίδες* (except in the sense of *doors*), in Smith’s Dict. Antiq. Nor have I been able to find a good account of them in any of the common books which treat of such matters.—*ὑπερπηδῆσας*] “Υπερπηδᾶν, levi pede aliquid præterire et mi-

grare quasi rem parvi momenti." Bremi. — κακοῦρογον ἄνθρωπον] That is, Demosthenes.

201. Τίς . . . λόγων;] "What now is the preventive of such speeches?" i.e. such as he had said Ctesiphon would make, viz. a mere sham speech, neglecting the whole merits of the case, and then calling on Demosthenes. We see how much Æschines feared the reply of Demosthenes. — παραναγνῶναι] "to read in connection or in comparison with." In order that he might be brought back to consider the true merits of the case; namely, how these could be shown to be consistent. — μὴ προσποιῇται] The negative is with the principal verb (as it often is in Greek, especially with φάναι and other words which imply *speaking* or *thinking*), instead of being with the infin. K. § 318, R. 4.

202. μάλιστα μὲν] "especially," "above all things," "if possible." It is responded to by Ἄν δ', below. — ἐπαυρομένον] "inquiring," i.e. of the court. — κάλει, κάλει] "Perspicitur hinc, quantum fuerit populi Atheniensis studium Demosthenis audiendi, quum, simul ac quis ejus mentionem fecerat, solerent alta voce clamare, ut vocetur et progrediatur orator." Bremi.

203. ἀπορώτατος] "inertissimus, stolidissimus." Ἀπορος interdu[m] is dicitur, qui propter ingenii tarditatem nil expedire queat." Bremi.

205. Οὕτω δὲ, κ. τ. λ.] Demosthenes, in his reply, follows the order of the charges in the indictment, in which, by an oversight, Æschines had placed the denial of his merits as a public man first, which was just the topic Demosthenes wished to treat first, and refer all the others to. See Dem. de Coron., §§ 56–60. — ἑτέρων . . . πραγμάτων] "by an introduction of other things." It cannot be denied that this is the general character of the reply of Demosthenes. The written laws were certainly against him, and hence on the law points he could only plead a certain extenuating usage. See § 35.

206. περὶ τῆς στάσεως] "about their relative position," i.e. for instance, which should have his face turned towards the sun and which from it, or which towards the wind and which

from it, &c. So, he goes on to say, they should insist upon a certain arrangement (*τάξεως*) in the reply of Demosthenes. — *ὑπὲρ . . . περὶ*] A fine illustration of the difference between these prepositions. See § 9, note. — *περίστασθαι*] “to go around,” “turn aside.” — *ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες*] “His verbis indicatur diligentissime ipsis a dolis et callidis fallaciis hominis fraudulentis cavendum esse.” Bremi. Compare Pop. Orat., II. § 18.

207. *Ἐπεισάξει . . . πολιτείαν*] “Well, then, he (i.e. Ctesiphon) will introduce this juggler, cutpurse, and sunderer of the constitution.” These terms are not used in their literal sense, but with reference to his wizard-like power as a speaker. See Dem. de Coron., § 276, seq. *γὰρ* is explicative, as often. K. § 324. 2, b. — *μεταβαλλόμενος*] “changing,” i.e. from tears and protestations to reproaches and maledictions. — *ὑπ’ αὐτῆς . . . διηριθμημένους*] “distinguished by the truth,” i.e. by the true distinction, “taken in the most comprehensive sense.”

208. *ἐκ παιδείας*] “from their liberal culture,” “from their generous nature.” — *ἐπίορκος ὢν*] “being a perjured man.” — *πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς*] “before the same persons.” The principle here stated, about the effect of frequent oaths or protestations upon one’s credibility, is a sound one.

209. *Περιγράψατέ . . . πολιτείας*] “exclude me from civil privileges.” Bremi remarks upon this: “Æschines affectare videtur orationem flebilis hominis et timidi, qui ipse perspicit civibus non solum jus esse, sed officium eum puniendi, sed ita eos flagitat hoc jure uti, ut deminuto honore ipse tamen salvus evadat.” — *προβαλλόμενος*] “throwing before it,” “in the way of protection.” These interrogatories are designed as a taunt upon Demosthenes for failing to protect the city against Philip. — *Ἐκλιπὼν μὲν . . . πόλεως*] “Sensus est: urbe relicta non in Piræo domicilium, ut videtur, constituisti, sed opportunum locum elegisti, unde, quando tibi placet, peregre abeas.” Bremi.

210. *οὐκ ἀτίμητος*] The influence of *Οὐχ* in the previous clause extends to this as well as the following (“is not the



action *not* one with a definite penalty affixed?"). See § 197, note.

211. *μανεῖς*] "having become mad," i.e. having lost all sense of propriety. — *ἐπὶ ταιούτης ἀκαιρίας*] "so unreasonably," "on so unfitting an occasion." The preposition with its case has the force of an adverb, as often. — *καιρὸν*] Referring to the unhappy condition of the country brought about by his policy. — *ἐκείρατο*] Lit., "cut off the hair," and hence, as cutting off the hair was a sign of grief, "grieved," "mourned." — *κάθαρμα ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετήν*] "a wretch pretending to virtue." See the same epithet (*κάθαρμα*) applied to Æschines by Demosthenes, *De Coron.*, § 128.

212. *ἐαντὸν διαχρήσεται*] Lit., "will use himself up," i.e. "will kill himself," "commit suicide." — *τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας*] "honor in your eyes." Observe that *πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, by being placed between the article and its noun, acquires an attributive meaning (lit., "the *before-you* honor"). *K.* § 244. 10. — *οὗτος*] Ctesiphon. — *κατατέμμηκε*] "has cut in pieces," "hacked." Alluding to the blows on the head which he says Demosthenes had received at different times, and had been satisfied with merely the pecuniary satisfaction obtained by an appeal to law. See § 51. These repeated allusions to the brutal assaults of Midias and others upon Demosthenes are exceedingly ungentlemanly, not to say mean. There is nothing in the reply of Demosthenes which approaches them in scurrility. — *οὐ κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον*] "not a head, but a revenue," i.e. it served him as a revenue rather than as a head.

214. *ἐμπληξίαν*] "infatuation." "Dicitur de iis, qui tonitru tanguntur. Hinc tropice de iis, qui non sunt sanæ mentis." Bremi. — *κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν*] "having condemned each other for crime."

215. *ἀνοίσειν ἐπ' ἐμέ*] That is, will make use of his connection with them against him.

216. *ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . διαβάλλει*] See *Dem. de Coron.*, § 307, seq. — *ἐνδεικνύμενος . . . ἑχθραν*] "displaying myself to Alex-

ander on account of his (Alexander's) enmity to him (Demosthenes)." Demosthenes does not, as I recollect, formally make this charge in any place.

217. τὸ κεφάλαιον] "summam et scopum rationis civilis." Bremi. Much stress, and with great justice, is laid upon this point by Demosthenes. He asks why, now that the evil is all done, he comes with his sweeping charges, and did not object to his measures when they were proposed. This thought, besides being alluded to in several other places, runs through all that portion (perhaps the most masterly part) of the speech from § 188 to § 210.

218. Σὺ δ' . . . κέκραγας] "Whereas you, I opine, are silent when you have received, but clamor having spent," i.e. his public speaking was prompted, not by love of his country, but by the hope of securing a bribe by it. See the turn which Demosthenes gives this, De Coron., § 82.

219. ἔτι Φιλίππου, κ. τ. λ.] See § 12, note. — οὕτω σοῦ, κ. τ. λ.] See § 77, note.

220. καὶ τὴν ἀξιώσιν . . . δημοκρατίας] "and taking this maxim, not from a democracy, but from a different civil polity (i.e. an oligarchy), you think to escape our observation." How this principle belongs to oligarchies, he proceeds to show in what follows. — κατηγορεῖ] "brings accusations." I retain the MS. reading in preference to the conjecture of Bekker, δημηγορεῖ, because, although speaking of harangues before the people, still it is rather as *accusations* than in a general sense that they are referred to. — διὰ χρόνον] "after a length of time," i.e. "occasionally." — σημεῖόν ἐστιν . . . πολιτευομένου] "is a sign of a man engaging in public duties out of regard to the occasions and advantage of *his country*."

221. Ὑπὲρ δέ, κ. τ. λ.] Demosthenes often alludes to the fact, that Æschines had never brought him to trial for any of the misdeeds which he now charges upon him. See De Coron., §§ 15, 251, *et al.* — Τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας . . . καὶ τὰ περὶ, κ. τ. λ.] The charges here referred to have been discussed at length in the previous parts of the oration,

but I am not aware that there is any account of Æschines having brought Demosthenes to trial for them in any other author.

222. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς τριήρεις, κ. τ. λ.] Reference is here made to the reform of the Trierarchy by Demosthenes, while superintendent of the navy, which he (De Coron., §§ 102–109) boasts of as a great improvement, and as having been carried through with integrity, when he might have received any sum as a bribe for desisting; while Æschines here claims to have convicted him of having by his arrangement, in collusion with the trierarchs, diminished their number sixty-five, and taken hush-money (ἀρπάγματα) for it. Demosthenes (De Coron., § 103) alludes to a prosecution which grew out of the case, and (§ 312) accuses Æschines of having received a talent from those interested in defeating his measure for his services in the cause. In alluding to these conflicting representations of the case, Boeckh (Pub. Econ. Ath., p. 574) says, — “Which shall posterity believe, when it wishes to form a judgment from the accounts of deceitful orators? It appears to me that the statement of Demosthenes is defended by the fact itself, and the general opinion concerning his whole public life.” — τὴν ἐν . . . ἐνίκησαν] “De re vide Diodor. Sic. XV. 34.” Bremi.

223. Οὕτω δὲ ταῖς αἰτίας ἐνέφραξας, κ. τ. λ.] “Sensus est: Quum tibi pœna metuenda sit, tu partibus mutatis, accusas eos, qui te in judicium produxerunt, ita ut, quamvis ipsi sint insontes, ob calliditatem tuam et perfidiam in maximo discrimine versentur, tu autem quasi innoxius evades.” Bremi.

224. τὴν Ἀναξίνου . . . κατεσκευάσας] “did you not get up the seizure of Anaxinus?” That is, in order to escape the εἰσαγγελία with which he was threatened. This Anaxinus was taken as a spy in concert with Æschines (see Dem. de Coron., § 137), and, as it would seem, was condemned to death for the offence. What is here said about his having been brought to trial by Demosthenes, who had previously been his friend, is nothing to the discredit of Demosthenes, if



he was now in the service of the enemies of his country. Anaxinus seems to have visited Macedonia under the pretence of carrying wares to Olympias, the wife of Philip, where he entered into arrangements to act as a spy at Athens. — *τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἅλας*] Lit. “the salt of the city,” i.e., as to have eaten salt together was the sign of friendship and of sacred obligations to each other, “the duty owed to the city,” “fidelity to the city.”

225. *Ἐπειτα ἐπερωτᾷν με, κ. τ. λ.*] The language here is so entirely like that employed by Demosthenes (*De Coron.*, § 243), that there can be little doubt that this, with many other passages, especially in this latter part of the oration, were added by Æschines after the reply of Demosthenes had been made. — *ἐνάτα*] “offerings made to the dead on the ninth day after the funeral.” For the funeral services among the Greeks, see Becker’s *Charicles*, p. 286.

226. *τοὺς συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας*] “qui per calumnias a rerum publicarum administratione depulsi sunt. Demosthenes *περὶ Στεφ.*, p. 273, jungit eadem, ni fallor, significatione ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν.” Bremi.

227. *ἐνταῦθ’ ἐρέστην, κ. τ. λ.*] This defence of himself in allowing Demosthenes to go on in a course of pernicious acts, which, years afterwards, he called him to account for (viz., that he and others were driven from a participation in public affairs by his quarrelsome habits), is certainly a very lame one, but shows the reluctance which was felt at encountering Demosthenes.

228. *ὦν ἐγὼ . . . μάλιστα*] “Hæc verba, ob duplicem attractionem obscuriora, in hunc modum resolvas: *τούτων ἃ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι Δημοσθένην λέξειν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα*. V. C. F. R.” Bremi. — *τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας*] Governed by *τὸ ἔργον* (“not to be able to prove the reality of the accusation”).

229. *καὶ τὴν . . . φύσιν*] “and envying the nature of his opponents on this account,” i.e. because they could speak so much better than he could. — *ὥς διόκηκεν*] “as if he had

done them.” — ἐξ ὀνομάτων . . . περιέργων] “a man made up of words, and these bitter and overwrought.” “Contra has Æschinis criminationes defendit Demosthenem Dionysius Halicarn. περὶ τῆς λεκτικῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος, c. 55.” Bremi. — Οὐ τὴν γλῶτταν, κ. τ. λ.] “Demadis hic fertur jocus fuisse in Athenienses: Δημάδης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἵκαζεν αὐλοῖς, ὧν εἴ τις ἀφείλοι τὴν γλῶτταν, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἔστι. Faceta sane comparatio! Quod si enim hoc tempore Athenienses erant satis loquentes disertī, plerumque etiam gloriosi, in agendo tamen inertissimi et languore suo et desidia nimium quantum verborum vanitatem testabantur.” Bremi. By γλῶτταν here is meant the *mouth-piece* of the flute, which was usually taken off when the instrument was not in use.

230. γνώμη] Meaning the same as ψήφισμα, as often. See § 3, note. — ἐπιτίδειος] “fit,” “deserving.” For the infin. following, see K. § 306. 1, c. — εὐθῦναι βίον] “censura morum.” Reisk. If he was acquitted, all offenders must be. — διὰ τὸ ξενικοῖς . . . τὴν ἡμέραν] “because this day has been devoted to foreign crowns,” i.e. the day of the great Dionysiac festival. See §§ 47, 48.

231. τῶν μετὰ . . . ἐπεισαγόντων] “those immediately after this introducing their plays,” i.e. after the proclamation of the crown of Demosthenes. δράματα is to be understood as the object of ἐπεισαγόντων. — ποιήσειεν] “should make,” “represent.” For the character of Thersites, see Hom. Il., II. 212, seq. — ἐν ταῖς . . . δόξαις] “in the thoughts *or* opinions of the Greeks,” i.e. if not in words. — ἀνέτιθεσαν] “attributed to.” — περιθεῖναι] “to confer it upon,” “devolve it upon.” ἀδοξίαν is to be supplied from the previous clause.

232. καλῶς ποιοῦντες] Lit. “doing well,” but it does not necessarily imply any merit of one’s own, but the favor of fortune; hence, “by the favor of fortune,” “by the blessing of God.” See Dem. de Coron., § 231; Olynth. II., § 27. Demosthenes (De Coron., § 207) reasons just the reverse of Æschines here, that by condemning him they would condemn themselves. — τὸ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον] A preparatory acc.

explained by what follows. See § 161, note. — *τοὺς μὲν . . . ἀλισκομένους*] “those convicted in the actions for bribery.” The more common construction of *ἀλίσκεσθαι* is either with the gen. or part.; and I do not find the construction with the acc. referred to in any of the grammars in common use, though it occurs § 50, and is recognized in the *Lexicon* of Liddell and Scott. — *τοὺς μὲν . . . Διονυσίων*] “Eosdem intellegit, quos Demosthenes in Mid., p. 520, appellat *τοὺς κριτὰς τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν ἀνδρῶν*: qui iudices sedebant certaminis, eumque coronabant, qui præstantissimus iudicatus erat.” Bremi. — *κυκλίους*] Commonly interpreted like *ἐγκύκλιοι*, “cyclic,” “appointed for a regular period,” “annual,” but, in Smith’s *Dict. Antiq.*, “circular,” from the original practice of dancing *around* a blazing altar as they sang.

233. *αὐτὸς*] That is, the judge who has given his vote for one wrongfully. — *συμπαράκολουθῶν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ*] “Jurisjurandi violatio perpetua memoria, furiarum instar, conscientiam terret et vexat.” Bremi.

234. *ἀμφοτέρω*] A preparatory acc. governed by the general idea of *doing* contained in the two following verbs. See § 232, note. — *κατορθοῦν . . . εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν*] “to be fortunate, and yet to be in danger, with regard to our civil polity.” How this is he explains in what follows. — *φορὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ῥητόρων*] “a harvest of orators in our time,” i.e. a great number. See *φορὰ* in this sense, Dem. de Coron., § 61. — *τὸ δῆμόσιον*] “the democracy,” “the democratic form of government.” — *κολακευόμενος*] Agrees with *δῆμος* understood.

235. *ἐνιοὶ δὲ . . . ἐγένοντο*] “and these very ones were some of the Thirty,” i.e. the Thirty Tyrants, who were established in power at Athens by Lacedæmon, at the close of the Peloponnesian war, and who ruled as with a rod of iron. — *ἐπέθετο*] “set himself to,” “undertook.”

236. *Τοῦ γὰρ . . . ἔχει*] “for to have been the cause of our needing these repairs conveys a greater censure than the credit of their having been well made.” This appears to be the meaning of the passage, expressed somewhat more fully



than in the text. — οὐδὲ . . . ἀνελόντα] “nor even in violating the public sepulchres.” When the walls of Athens were built, under Themistocles, such was the urgency, for fear of the interference of the Lacedæmonians to prevent their being reared, that all the inhabitants, of all classes, were set to work upon them, and directed to urge them forward without regard to any place, whether sacred or profane; so that they were said to be built of altars and sepulchres. See Cornel. Nepos, Themist., c. VI. In repairing the walls, therefore, there would necessarily be a disturbance of the public sepulchres.

237. ἄψαι τῶν ἔργων] “seize upon (come to) the realities or facts.” See § 101. — τὰς αἰτίας] “the causes.” See § 137. — τὸ τῆς πόλεως . . . περιτιθείς] “ascribing the dignity of the city to Demosthenes,” i.e. the dignity and authority which he had as an ambassador of the city to Thebes, and which enabled him to succeed in his mission. He seems determined to strip Demosthenes of the honor universally accorded to him for his success on this mission.

239. Οὐτός] That is, the king of Persia, when pressed by Alexander. His situation, he says, led him, even against his declaration, to make the offer, for the sake of securing allies, just as the situation of the Thebans led them to accept the alliance of Athens. — τὰ δ' ἐβδομήκοντα . . . ὑποσιωπῶς] Reference is here made to the gold which Demosthenes seems to have received from the king of Persia, to be used in opposing the Macedonian influence and arms in Greece (§ 173, note), which Æschines here, and another enemy, Dinarchus (in Dem. § 18 Bek.), says he refused to employ, on the occasion referred to, in bribing the mercenaries to deliver up the citadel to the Thebans, and pay the Arcadians for coming to the aid of Thebes, so as to keep them from being bought off, as they were, by the opposite party.

240. Οὐ δὲ . . . παρῆδοςαν;] “did not the mercenary soldiers fail (οὐ . . . οὐ) of delivering up the citadel to the Thebans through want of money, for five talents?” That is, the Cadmea, on the occasion referred to below, when the Thebans

were to be assisted by the Arcadians in expelling the Macedonian mercenaries, and throwing off the Macedonian yoke. — καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς . . . χορηγεῖς] “and you gratify your appetites.” For this sense of ἡδοναί, see Xen. Mem., I. 2. 23, Kühner’s note. .

241. βαρύτερον . . . γίγνεται] “what is heard becomes more intolerable than the actual evils which you have suffered.” Demosthenes was aware of the difficulty and delicacy of the task of defending himself, and anticipates the objection on this score in the introduction to his speech.

242. τῆς ἀνασχύντου πραγματείας] “the shameless business,” i.e. of calling on Demosthenes to assist him in the defence. He thinks it would be altogether better for Ctesiphon to make his own defence. See § 200, seq.—ὑπέμεινας . . . τελευτῇ] “having allowed yourself as an ambassador . . . to be chosen to express sympathy,” &c. This daughter of Philip had married Alexander, king of the Molossians, in Epirus, who was slain in Italy (B.C. 331), in assisting the Tarentines against the Brutti.—μισθοῦ] “for pay,” i.e. from Demosthenes. It is gen. of price.

243. οἷος μὴ . . . πεπονηθότων] “such as not to be known by those who have been benefited by him.” For the infin. after οἷος, see K. § 306. 1, c. The negative is μὴ, and not οὐ, because it is merely a supposed case. K. § 318. 3.—μόραν] “a division.” This was the war called the Corinthian (B.C. 394). — διὰ τὸν . . . Κέκρυραν] “on account of that famous circumnavigation of Greece to Corcyra.” He went first to Thrace after vessels, and then returned south, round the Peloponnesus, to Corcyra, which he subjugated to Athens, B.C. 376 (the same year as the battle of Naxos); in what was called the Boeotian war.

244. ἀντεροῦ] “ask in turn.” — σχετλιάζοντας] “complaining bitterly,” “deeply distressed.” — χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος] “apart from the body.” As though it were foreign to the body, and an enemy to it.

245. τὴν πανσάτην ἐξόδον] “Intelligit fatalem illam ex-

peditionem, quæ clade Chæronensi finita est." Bremi. — *την δὲ μνήμην ἐπιλείπουσαν*] "while (δὲ) there is no grateful remembrance of them."

246. *παιδεύει*] "instructs," i.e. goes through the forms of instruction, and hence "attempts to instruct." — *ἀλλὰ τὸ . . . ὀνομάζεται*] "but in this case certainly (ἤδη) to admonish is justly called to vex."

248. *τοὺς προκαταλαμβάνοντας . . . ὀνομάτων*] "those pre-occupying all the popular and generous-sounding names." Such as are named in what follows. Such persons, he says, ought to be suspected of having a corresponding meanness of life. — *ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ*] *plerumque, sæpissime*, or, according to some, *sæpe*, while *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ* (which is found here in two MSS.) is *sæpissime*. See Xen. Mem., I. 1. 10; also Jelf's K. § 870, R. 4.

249. *τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτημάτων*] "*αἱ βεβαιώσεις sunt pignora*, quæ dari solebant in emendo et vendendo. Centesima enim pretii pars deponebatur in fidem, si lis exoriretur inter emptorem et venditorem. Hæc summa dicebatur *ἄξιόχρεως*. Hinc jubetur orator, qui publice velit coronari, provocare ad vitam fide dignam et laude, venditoris instar, qui fidem suam præstat. Ex eodem genere petatum est *μὴ βεβαιοῦτε τοὺς ἐπαίνους*, ne confirmate laudes." Bremi.

251. *παρανοίας ἐαλωκώς*] "convicted of folly or dotage." Like a superannuated person. See § 156; also Xen. Mem., I. 2. 49. — *τῶν δ' . . . παρακεχώρημεν*] "while from the realities (i.e. in fact) you have retired for others," i.e. they had given up to ambitious leaders every thing except the name of the democracy. — *ἀλλ' . . . νειμάμενοι*] "but, as if from a picnic, having distributed among yourselves what remains," i.e. of the public money, &c.

252. *ἐκεῖθεν . . . θεωρήσατε*] "behold the proof hence," i.e. from what follows. — *Ἐγένετό τις*] "There was one," i.e. formerly. It is supposed that the reference is to one Autolycus. — *Ἐτερος δ'*] Leocrates, who, after the battle of Chæroneia, fled in a cowardly manner to Rhodes, and on his return,



eight years afterwards, was brought to trial, and barely escaped conviction by a tie vote. — *μία*] Understand *ψηφος*.

253. *ἀποπέμψετε*] “send away,” “rid the country of,” i.e. as a *homo piacularis*. See § 131. — *ὥς . . . πλέοντα*] “as a pirate of the public transactions, sailing through the constitution upon names,” i.e. having undermined the democracy while professing great attachment to it, and concealing their true character, by a studious use of democratic terms. See § 248. Æschines is liable to the same charge of harshness of metaphor here, which he several times censures in Demosthenes.

254. *Ἡμερῶν μὲν . . . συλλέγεσθαι*] “Æschines significat consilium Amphictyonum et certamina Pythica eodem fere tempore habita esse: quod eo probilius est, quum Amphictyones præsiderent his ludis. Non tamen eodem mense singulis annis videntur locum habuisse, plerumque tamen mense Elaphebolione (Martio).” Bremi. In opposition to this opinion of Bremi, President Woolsey, after an elaborate discussion of the whole subject, sums up the result as follows: The Pythia were held in the autumn; the Amphictyonic council convened at Delphi in the autumn, and, as far as any thing is known, only there; and the events in which Æschines was an actor at Delphi, were therefore in the autumn of B.C. 340, soon after his election probably to the office of pylagoras. See Bib. Sac., July, 1850.

255. *μὴ νέμετε, ἀλλὰ κοίνετε*] “Idem est ac si dixisset νέμετε κοίνοντες, cum iudicio tribuete, re pensitata, num honorem meritis sit is, qui eum appetit.” Bremi. — *ἐν ἡλικίᾳ*] “in youth.” When it was customary to engage in sporting and gymnastic exercises to invigorate and establish the constitution, which, however, he goes on to say, Demosthenes spent in studying tricks against the wealthy, or those having the estates (*τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένους*); referring, perhaps, more particularly to the reform which Demosthenes afterwards made in the law of the Trierarchy (De Coron., §§ 102–109), which compelled the rich to perform their part of this public burden.

256. Ἀλλ' εἰς . . . ἀποβλέψαντες] This seems to refer back and respond to διαβλέψαντες εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, and hence requires that βουλευσάσθε should be supplied from that sentence. The exact correspondence of the two sentences, however, is disturbed by the long intervening parenthesis. — ἀποστήσαι δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνας] That is, from Philip. — ἐκπλήξαι δὲ Θεβαίους δημηγορήσας] For the effect of the eloquence of Demosthenes upon the Thebans, see Plutarch's Life of Demosthenes. — Πειθῶ] "Persuasion," personified. This is said because Demosthenes claimed to have accomplished such wonders by his eloquence.

257. ὑπολαμβάνετε ὁρᾶν] "imagine that you see." This summoning before them the worthies of the past, to sustain them in resisting the impudence of Demosthenes and his associates, is happily conceived, and executed in a manner worthy of a great orator.

258. τὰς θυγατέρας] "Duas reliquit filias, quæ a populo, teste Plutarcho, in Aristidis vita, dotem acceperunt ter mille drachmarum." Bremi. — Ἀρθμιον] See Dem. Phil. III., § 43. παρ, οὐδὲν μὲν ἤλθον ἀποκτεῖναι] "they came within next to nothing of killing him," i.e. were almost indignant enough to kill him.

260. ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε, κ. τ. λ.] Demosthenes (De Coron., § 127) seizes upon these words, as furnishing, on account of their flippant, pretending character, a fit occasion for returning the ridicule which Æschines, in several places, has bestowed upon his language. — βεβοήθηκα] "I have come to your aid," i.e. of *virtue*, *knowledge*, and *education*. This close compares with that of the reply of Demosthenes very much as the oration, as a whole, compares with that. It is much more flippant and pretending, with much less real earnestness and solemnity.





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